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# NENGONE GRAMMAR

by

D. T. TRYON

CANBERRA 1967

THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

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# PREFACE

*This monograph is based on linguistic material collected during fieldwork in the Loyalty Islands, under the auspices of the Australian National University, during the period May to December 1965, and in July 1966. I would like to express my thanks to S.A. Wurm for his valuable suggestions and encouragement during the preparation of the manuscript.*

*Canberra 1967.*

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# INTRODUCTION

The Loyalty Group consists of three main islands which are parallel to the axis of New Caledonia and situated approximately eighty miles to the east of it. These islands lie from N.W. to S.E. between 21°10′ and 21°40′ S. lat. and between 166°20′ and 168°20′ E. long.[1] The group consists of three main islands, from north to south: Ouvéa, Lifou, and Maré.

This study examines the Nengone language, spoken on the island of Maré. It has between 4000 and 5000 speakers, some of whom reside in Noumea. Maré has a total area of 250 square miles.

The earliest studies of these languages include:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1847 | Rev. G. Turner | Word List in *Samoan Reporter* |
| 1850 | Rev. J. Inglis | Word List in *Report* |
| 1852 | A. Cheyne | Word List in *Description of the Islands in the Western Pacific* |
| 1860 & 1873 | H.C. von der Gabelentz | *Die Melanesischen Sprachen* I & II |
| 1882 | G. von der Gabelentz | *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der melanesischen, mikronesischen und papuanischen Sprachen* |
| 1888 | G. Müller | "Die Sprache von Nengone" in *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft.* |

The Bible was translated into Nengone in 1903 by the London Mission Society. The translation is rather unreadable and resembles but little the spoken language of today.

More recent studies of Nengone appear in:

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[1] S.H. Ray, ***The Melanesian Island Languages***, Cambridge, 1926.

| | |
|---|---|
| R.H. Codrington | *The Melanesian Languages*, Oxon 1885 |
| S.H. Ray | *The Melanesian Island Languages*, Cantab., 1926 |
| M. Leenhardt | *Langues et Dialectes de l'Austro-Mélanésie*, Paris, 1946. |

Unfortunately, the first two of these works are based solely on Bible translations, and although scholarly are far from comprehensive. Leenhardt's work is an excellent general compendium, but again one which lacks the detail required for a satisfactory description. It was because of this rather scanty information that fieldwork was undertaken by the author in order to present a more comprehensive description than those previously attempted.

This work represents a departure from the traditional presentation in that it makes use of a combined tagmemic and transformational approach. Tagmemics as developed by Pike[1] and Longacre[2] and tested on many different languages, especially by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, is suitable for this work because it allows the presentation of a grammatical unit at any hierarchical level as slot plus filler class, and facilitates comparison with other languages. Some ideas from transformational grammar have also been adopted because they show concisely the generative relationships between different constructions on the clause, phrase and word levels. Pike's[3] and Longacre's[4] grammatical matrix system also offers a clear and concise presentation of non-Verbal Clause Types, which are common in the Nengone language. This combination of tagmemics, transformational grammar and grammatical matrix system has been tested successfully by Nguyen Dang Liem[5], whose model is here being tested with respect to Melanesian languages.

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[1] K.L. Pike, ***Language***, Glendale, California, 1954, 1955, 1960.

[2] R.E. Longacre, ***Grammar Discovery Procedures***, The Hague, 1964.

[3] K.L. Pike, "Discourse Analysis and Tagmemic Matrices". ***Oceanic Linguistics*** III, 1, 1964.

[4] R.E. Longacre, "Transformational Parameters in Tagmemic Field Structures", Georgetown University Monograph No.18, 1965.

[5] Nguyen Dang Liem, ***A Contrastive Phonological and Grammatical Study of English and Vietnamese***, Canberra, 1966.

## List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| [ ] | encloses phonetic transcriptions |
| / / | encloses phonemes |
| # | pause with falling intonation |
| / | pause with gradually rising intonation |
| // | pause with sharply rising intonation |
| **V** | vowel phoneme |
| **C** | consonant phoneme |
| **S** | subject tagmeme |
| **Pr** | predicate tagmeme |
| **Act** | active voice |
| **Pass** | passive voice |
| **Intr** | intransitive |
| **Tr** | transitive |
| **Acc** | accompaniment tagmeme |
| **Ap** | apposition |
| **Ben** | benefactive tagmeme |
| **C** | cause tagmeme |
| **Cl** | clause |
| **Co** | complement |
| **Dec** | declarative |
| **Dem** | demonstrative |
| **Dep** | dependent |
| **Det** | determiner |
| **DO** | direct object tagmeme |
| **Eq** | equational |
| **Freq** | frequency tagmeme |
| **H** | head |
| **Id** | identificational |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Imp** | imperative |
| **Inf** | infinitive |
| **Inst/Ag** | instrumental/agentive tagmeme |
| **Interr** | interrogative |
| **IO** | indirect object tagmeme |
| **L** | location tagmeme |
| **Mann** | manner tagmeme |
| **Mod** | modifier |
| **N** | noun |
| **Neg** | negative |
| **NS** | non-subject |
| **Num** | numeral |
| **P** | purpose tagmeme |
| **Phr** | phrase |
| **Pl** | plural |
| **Pn** | pronoun |
| **Poss** | possession/possessor |
| **Q** | question |
| **Rel** | relative |
| **RelAx** | relator-axis |
| **Sg** | singular |
| **St** | stative |
| **T** | time tagmeme |

Phonetic terminology and symbolisation follow Trager 1958.

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# 1. PHONOLOGY

Any Nengone (Maré) utterance which contains no pauses and which has not more than one syllable bearing primary stress is a *word*.

A syllable is a segment which may be stressed, together with the surrounding segments uttered on the same breath pulse. A Nucleus is a syllable peak.

## 1.1. Stress

In Nengone, stress is non-phonemic. It has only the demarkative function of indicating the division between words.

There are three degrees of stress in the Nengone language: primary stress, secondary stress, and unstress.

(a) *Primary Stress*
In words of more than one syllable, the primary stress always falls on the penultimate syllable.

(b) *Secondary Stress*
The secondary stress always occurs two syllables before the primary stress.

(c) *Unstress*
All syllable Nuclei not covered by (a) and (b) are unstressed.

It should be observed that the primary stress in Nengone is considerably stronger than in Dehu or Iai, so strong in fact that the final syllable is greatly devoiced.

***EXAMPLES:***

Primary stress = [ˊ]; secondary stress = [ˋ]; unstress - unmarked.

Words of one syllable: /čó/ Future tense marker; /ké/ but.

Words of two syllables: /móṃa/ old man; /yáwe/ again.

Words of three syllables: /newáta/ toe nail; /wabúyu/ thighs.

Words of four syllables: /wàegógo/ eye; /àčakáze/ sorcerer.

Words of five syllables: /anìtitíni/ to growl; /wačàruwíwi/ eel.



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### 1.2. Juncture and Pauses

In the texts given at the end of the Grammar -

- # represents a pause with sentence final intonation
- / represents a pause with sentence medial intonation
- // represents a pause with rising interrogative intonation
- ... represents a hesitation by the speaker.

### 1.3. Intonation

In Nengone, as in Dehu and Iai, the functional load of contrastive intonation is slight, since it is significant only in Interrogative Clause Classes where segmental morphological features are only sometimes present.

Three intonation patterns emerge as follows:

(a) *Question Intonation*
Interrogation is characterised by a steadily rising intonation to a high pitch on the stressed syllable of the final word in the Clause, the same pitch being maintained in any succeeding syllables.

(b) *Sentence Medial Intonation*
In the bipartite sentences employed in oratorical style, a special sentence medial intonation exists. It consists of an even pitch followed by a sharp rise to a high pitch on the word marking the end of the first part of the statement.

(c) *Sentence Final Intonation*
The sentence final intonation is characterised by a rather sharp fall in pitch of the stressed syllable of the last word in the Clause.

## 1.4. Phonemics and Orthography

### *Nengone Phoneme Chart*

*Consonant Phonemes:*

| | | Bilabial | Labio-dental | Dental | Alveolar | Retroflex | Alveopalatal | Velar | Glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stops and Affricates: | | | | | | | | | |
| | vl. | p | | | t | ṭ | č | k | ʔ |
| | vd. | b | | | d | ḍ | ǰ | g | |
| Fricatives: | | | | | | | | | |
| | vl. | | (f) | θ | s | | š | (x) | h |
| | vd. | | | | z | | | v | |
| Nasals: | | | | | | | | | |
| | vl. | m̥ | | | n̥ | | | ŋ̊ | |
| | vd. | m | | | n | | ɲ | ŋ | |
| | | w̥ | | | | | | | |
| | | w | | | r | l | y | | |

***NOTE:*** The phonemes in parenthesis occur only in words borrowed from other languages.

*Vowel Phonemes:*

| Front | Back | |
|---|---|---|
| i | u | |
| e | o | |
| ɛ | ɔ | + length. |
| | a | |

### 1.5. Allophonic Variations affecting Phonemes

All the voiceless stops are aspirated; the aspiration is even stronger if the word ends with /h/.

#### 1.5.1. Allophonic Variations of Consonants

| *Phoneme* | *has allophone* | | *in environment* | *except* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /p/ | [p'] | voiceless aspirated bilabial stop | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /pa/ [p'a] grandfather; /po/ [p'o] to cry out; /gupaḍi/ [gup'aḍi̯] forehead; /pepaŋisd/ [p'ep'aŋisd] lombar region; /čap/ [čap'] dance.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /b/ | [b] | voiced unaspirated bilabial stop | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /ba/ [ba] deprecative Imperative; /tube/ [t'ubẹ] a bundle; /tubenin/ [t'ubenin] forearm; /baŋo/ [baŋo] disease similar to measles; /bo/ [bo] you singular; /waθɛb/ [waθɛb] hole in a coral reef.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /t/ | [t'] | voiceless aspirated alveolar stop | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /wata/ [wat'a] leg; /wastešɛt/ [wast'ešɛt] old woman; /tei/ [t'ei] child of; /bɛti/ [bɛt'i̯] island.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /d/ | [d] | voiced unaspirated alveolar stop | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /da/ [da] first of all; /dun/ [dun] bone; /wadidi/ [wadidi̯] navel; /nod/ [nod] country; /iekadeu/ [iek'adeu] lungs; /gupisd/ [gup'isd] nose.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ṭ/ | [ṭ'] | voiceless aspirated retroflex stop | in all occurrences | |

| *Phoneme* | *has allophone* | *in environment* | *except* |
|---|---|---|---|

***EXAMPLES:*** /ṭa/ [ṭ'a] to paint; /ṭia/ [ṭ'ia] out of place; /piriṭu/ [p'iriṭ'u] kind of mushroom; /newapɛṭapɛṭa/ [newap'ɛṭ'ap'ɛṭ'a] small crayfish.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /ḍ/ | [ḍ] voiced unaspirated retroflex stop | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /ḍa/ [ḍa] blood; /ḍawa/ [ḍawa] a deep layer of earth; /aḍa/ [aḍa] branch; /wɛḍ/ [wɛḍ] pandanus; /wasisiḍin/ [wasisiḍin] lightning.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /k/ | [k'] voiceless aspirated velar stop | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /ka/ [k'a] and; /kaka/ [k'ak'a] to eat; /kua/ [k'ua] to drink; /atakoni/ [at'ak'oni] to make something disappear; /rɛtɔk/ [rɛt'ɔk'] Chief.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /g/ | [g] voiced unaspirated velar stop | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /guba/ [guba] naked; /gubiša/ [gubišą] limping; /waegogo/ [waegogo] eye; /wɛge/ [wɛgę] outrigger canoe; /kag/ [k'ag] fence.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /ʔ/ | [ʔ] voiceless unaspirated glottal stop | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /waʔami/ [waʔamį] small; /yeʔaw/ [yeʔaw] cloud; /wanānaʔas/ [wanānaʔas] the last born; /waʔi/ [waʔi] fish.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /s/ | [s] voiceless alveolar fricative | in all occurrences | |

| *Phoneme* | *has allophone* | *in environment* | *except* |
|---|---|---|---|

***EXAMPLES:*** /se/ [se] definite article; /sɛrei/ [sɛrei] tree; /as/ [as] finished; /nɛse/ [nɛsẹ] dry; /yose/ [yosẹ] to take.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /z/ | [z] voiced alveolar fricative | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /ze/ [ze] to draw water; /zin/ [zin] property; /kuze/ [k'uzẹ] to bite; /tize/ [t'ize] to dig up sweet potatoes.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /š/ | [š] voiceless alveolar fricative | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /bušɛŋon/ [bušɛŋon] they two; /šɛŋ/ [šɛŋ] to heat; /waɛtešet/ [waɛt'ešɛt'] old woman; /našɛn/ [našɛn] dusk; /šeušeu/ [šeušeu] to be sad.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /č/ | [č] voiceless alveo-palatal affricate | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /čo/ [čo] to go; /čɛŋ/ [čɛŋ] basket; /čɛčɛn/ [čɛčɛn] father; /yeuč/ [yeuč] octopus; /wačečetow/ [wačečet'ow] heart; /pač/ [p'ač] sorcerer.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /ǰ/ | [ǰ] voiced alveo-palatal affricate | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /ǰo/ [ǰo] to hurt; /ɛǰ/ [ɛǰ] we plural inclusive; /durewaǰo/ [durewaǰọ] small of the back; /waǰekol/ [waǰek'ol] star; /ǰewi/ [ǰewi] whale.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /θ/ | [θ] voiceless dental fricative | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /θo/ [θo] bad; /waθɛra/ [waθɛrą] tears; /gueθo/ [gueθọ] throat; /haloθ/ [haloθ] drum; /wa?ɛθ/ [wa?ɛθ] banana.

| *Phoneme* | *has allophone* | *in environment* | *except* |
|---|---|---|---|
| /h/ | [h] voiceless glottal fricative | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES***: /hale/ [halę] then; /hue/ [hue] to go; /guhɛl/ knife; /iehawo/ [iehawǫ] hair; /watah/ [wat'ah] to hit a bird without knocking it down.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /v/ | [v] voiced velar fricative | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES***: /varu/ [varų] to row; /vewe/ [vewę] to sigh; /veveb/ [veveb] to catch a flying object; /veve/ [vevę] to crawl.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /m/ | [m] voiced bilabial nasal resonant | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES***: /ma/ [ma] when; /megenin/ [megenin] sea snake; /waʔami/ [waʔamį] small; /ŋɔm/ [ŋɔm] man; /waʔamakal/ [waʔamak'al] kidneys.

***NOTE***: A syllabic m occurs in only one word in Nengone [m̩a] house; this is perhaps derived from an older form [umma]; compare *AN /vumah/. The word will be written /mma/ in this work.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /m̥/ | [m̥] voiceless bilabial nasal resonant | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES***: /m̥a/ [m̥a] big; /m̥ɛŋo/ [m̥ɛŋo] you two; /moṃa/ [moṃa] old man; /čaṃan/ [čaṃan] male youth.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /n/ | [n] voiced alveolar nasal resonant | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES***: /ne/ [ne] also; /čaṃan/ [čaṃan] male youth; /m̥ɛnew/

| *Phoneme* | *has allophone* | *in environment* | *except* |
|---|---|---|---|

[ɱɛnew] woman; /papan/ [p'ap'an] grandfather; /nečoe/ [nečoe] mat.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /n̥/ | [n̥] voiceless alveolar nasal resonant | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /n̥a/ [n̥a] Past tense marker; /čaŋaŋ̊aeŋɛn/ [čaŋaŋ̊aeŋɛn] stomach; /n̥e/ [n̥e] thunder; /n̥atini/ [n̥at'iniˌ] valley.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /ŋ/ | [ŋ] voiced velar nasal resonant | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /ŋɔm/ [ŋɔm] man; /yɛŋo/ [yɛŋ̊o] wind; /sɛduŋ/ [sɛduŋ] five; /reisiŋɛn/ [reisiŋɛn] cousin.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /ŋ̊/ | [ŋ̊] voiceless velar nasal resonant | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /ɛŋ̊e/ [ɛŋ̊e] to cough; /waŋ̊od/ [waŋ̊od] termite; /asiŋ̊e/ [asiŋ̊e] to sneeze.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /ɲ/ | [ɲ] voiced alveo-palatal nasal resonant | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /koɲakoɲa/ [k'oɲak'oɲa] mud; /ɲaɲad/ [ɲaɲad] to run.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /l/ | [l] voiced alveolar lateral resonant | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /kɔl/ [k'ɔl] excrement; /la/ [la] who?; /čil/ [čil] to reject; /lakidi/ [lak'idiˌ] evening.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /r/ | [r] voiced alveolar median resonant | in all occurrences | |

| *Phoneme* | *has allophone* | *in environment* | *except* |
|---|---|---|---|

***EXAMPLES:*** /sɛr/ [sɛr] to be standing; /ridi/ [ridi̯] to hit; /ɛra/ [ɛra] to sing; /ran/ [ran] day; /kuri/ [kuri] to pull or drag an animal.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /w/ | [w] voiced bilabial median resonant | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /woč/ [woč] bush; /waiča/ [waiča] boy; /aw/ [aw] sky; /rawa/ [rawa] earth; /rewɛn/ [rewɛn] rainbow.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /ẉ/ | [ẉ] voiceless bilabial median resonant | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /ẉiti/ [ẉit'i̯] penis; /ẉan/ [ẉan] beginning; /ẉariẉari/ [ẉariẉari̯] to fall into a chasm.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /y/ | [y] semi-vocoid | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /yawe/ [yawẹ] again; /yeuč/ [yeuč] octopus; (cf-[ia] animal)

### 1. 5. 2. Allophonic Variations of Vowels

1. The final syllable in polysyllabic words is weakly articulated, and in the absolute final position /i e o u/ tend to be partially or completely devoiced after a consonant following the primary stress which falls on the penultimate syllable. However in connected speech, when the following word begins with a consonant, the vowels are fully voiced.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /i/ | [i] high front unrounded vocoid | in all occurrences | as above in 1. |

***EXAMPLES:*** /nida/ [nida] gentle; /waiča/ [waiča] boy; /aranin/ [aranin] wrist; /din/ [din] body hair; /ičori/ [ičori] to shake hands.

| *Phoneme* | *has allophone* | *in environment* | *except* |
|---|---|---|---|
| /e/ | [e̟] higher mid front apico-labialised vocoid | before /a/ and /o/ within the root morpheme | |
| | [e] higher mid front unrounded vocoid | elsewhere | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /adeni/ [adeni̯] to wipe out; /aseni/ [aseni̯] to finish; /aea/ [aea̟] fish trap; /eo/ [e̟o] the island of Beaupré; /ea/ [e̟a] to sharpen.

[e̟] has been called "apico-labialised" on the recommendation of Dr H. Bluhme, since it is produced by protruding the tongue between the teeth but usually not past the lips during the articulation of the phoneme /e/.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /ɛ/ | [ɛ] lower mid front unrounded vocoid | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /adɛni/ [adɛni̯] to carry; /asɛni/ [asɛni̯] to wash; /vɛli/ [vɛli̯] rat; /ɛle/ [ɛle̯] rain; /ɛreu/ [ɛreu] very hot.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /a/ | [a] low central unrounded vocoid | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /da/ [da] first; /ad̰al/ [ad̰al] phosphorescent mushroom; /ada/ [ada] comestible roots; /ačɛni/ [ačɛni̯] foreigner.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /ɔ/ | [ɔ] lower mid back rounded vocoid | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /kɔne/ [k'ɔne̯] to seize; /kɔl/ [k'ɔl] to excrete; /dɔku/ [dɔk'u̯] Chief; /bɔn/ [bɔn] he.

| *Phoneme* | *has allophone* | *in environment* | *except* |
|---|---|---|---|
| /o/ | [o] higher mid back rounded vocoid | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /kone/ [konę] to avoid; /woč/ [woč] bush; /ome/ [omę] here; /odaɛl/ [odaɛl] when?; /čo/ [čo] to go; /čo:/ [čo:] the back.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /u/ | [u] high back rounded vocoid | in all occurrences | |

***EXAMPLES:*** /du/ [du] the sun; /ue/ [ue] high tide; /ura/ [ura] kind of banana tree; /u:ra/ [u:ra] to flow; /peu/ [p'eu] to weed; /kua/ [k'ua] to drink.

***NOTE:*** With back vowels /ɔ/ and /u/, in closed syllables, [ʊ] may occur as a free variant. Thus one finds [but'] [bʊt'] [čɛk'ɔl] [čɛk'ʊl].

### 1.6. Syllable Structure

In Nengone, the syllable is significant as a unit only for the prediction of stress.

The syllabic **N** is always **V**. Any **N** may be preceded or followed by any **C**, or may be both preceded and followed by **C**.

***Examples of Syllable Nuclei:***

**V**: /u/ to cry; /e/ yes

**(C)V**: /pa/ grandfather; /ke/ to refuse

**V(C)**: /al/ to swim; /un/ breadfruit tree

**(C)V(C)**: /lɛn/ road; /wɛn/ root.

### 1.7. Word Structure

The **CVCV** pattern predominates in Nengone word structure. No clusters of **CC** may occur, although **VV** and **VVV** may. Examples of Nengone word structure are as follows:

**V**: /u/ to cry; /e/ yes

**VV**: /ia/ animal; /ue/ high tide

**CV**: /lo/ there; /d̤a/ blood
**VC**: /al/ to swim; /ač/ thing
**CVC**: /ŋɔm/ man; /woč/ bush
**VCV**: /ɛle/ rain; /ore/ morning
**VVV**: /aea/ fish trap; /aeo/ food dish
**CVV**: /peu/ to weed; /leu/ to follow
**VVC**: /eoč/ shark; /eak/ the west
**CVCV**: /moŋa/ old man; /wata/ leg
**CVVC**: /yeuč/ octopus; /θaɛt/ to sleep
**VCVV**: /adai/ flying fox; /aθoe/ to light fire
**VVCV**: /iɛke/ crab; /ača/ young boy
**CVCVC**: /čaŋan/ man; /wanin/ arm
**CVVCV**: /deiče/ to wink; /čuada/ thumb
**VCVCV**: /ɛrɛnu/ stalks; /ekone/ to marry
**CVCVV**: /maduo/ to the west; /nodei/ all.

### 1.8. Restrictions on Phoneme Occurrence

The phonemes /z, š, v, ʔ/ and the voiceless resonants plus /ŋ/ and /y/ do not occur finally.

/ʔ, ŋ̊/ do not occur initially.

/ɔ/ does not occur initially, and /ɛ , ɔ / do not occur finally.

*Linking Vowels*

Whenever two consonants come together, one word ending in a consonant and the following word beginning with one, the linking vowel /e/ is introduced to avoid consonant clustering.

e.g. buič**e** či ule
they see.

Words already ending in a vowel, devoiced in the absolute final position (see page 9), give full voicing to the vowel under the conditions outlined above.

# 2. CLAUSE LEVEL ANALYSIS

## 2.1. Clause Classes.

### 2.1.0. Introductory

There are ten Classes of Nengone Clause Types, as in Dehu, determined by some common identificational-contrastive features of internal structure and distribution of the Classes in the larger matrix:

1. Independent Declarative Clause Class
2. Independent Imperative Clause Class
3. Independent Yes-No Interrogative Clause Class
4. Independent Interrogative Subject Clause Class
5. Independent Interrogative Non-Subject Clause Class
6. Independent Extra-Interrogative Clause Class
7. Dependent Subject Clause Class
8. Dependent Non-Subject Clause Class
9. Extra Dependent Clause Class
10. Defective Clause Class.

These ten Clause Classes are grouped into larger Clause Classes according to identificational-contrastive features as follows:

I. There are two larger Clause Classes: *Complete Clause Types* having a minimum of an obligatory Predicate tagmeme, sometimes optionally verbal, and normally an obligatory Subject tagmeme. *Defective Clause Types* have no obligatory Predicate tagmeme of any kind.

II. The Class *Complete Clause Types* is divided into Independent and Dependent Types. Independent Types are potentially complete sentences. Dependent Types are included within or dependent on another Clause and usually contain a Dependent Introducer.

III. *Independent Clause Types* are divided into Classes with and without an Interrogative tagmeme and *Dependent Clause Types* are divided into Classes with and without an Extra Dependent tagmeme.

(a) Independent Clause Types without an Interrogative

tagmeme are divided into two Classes:

Independent Declarative Clause Class and
Independent Imperative Clause Class.

(b) Independent Clause Types with an Interrogative tagmeme are divided into four Classes:

Independent Yes-No Interrogative Class,
Independent Interrogative Subject Class,
Independent Interrogative Non-Subject Class, and
Independent Extra Interrogative Class.

(c) Dependent Clause Types without an Extra Dependent tagmeme are divided into two Classes:

Dependent Subject Class and
Dependent Non-Subject Class.

(d) The Dependent Clause Type with Extra Dependent tagmeme forms the Extra Dependent Class.

*Complete Clause Classes*

From the Kernel Declarative Clause Class, the other verbal Clause Classes can be derived when primary or secondary Transform rules are applied. In order to show the basic differences and relationships among the Complete Clause Classes, each Clause Class will be stated in terms of its identificational-contrastive features, Transform rules where necessary, and Clause level tagmemes pertinent to the structure formulae.

Summary Tables of Nucleus formulae and examples are given. Non-essential Clause level tagmemes will be treated in the Phrase level analysis.

### 2.1.1. Independent Declarative Clause Class (Table No. 2)

The Class of Declarative Clause Types has the following identificational-contrastive features and structure formula:

**DeclCl: +S +Pr**

The structure of the Declarative Clause Type consists of a minimum Nucleus of an obligatory Nucleus Subject tagmeme (except where the Subject becomes a Complement in Clause Types 6 and 8) and an obligatory Nucleus Predicate tagmeme. Impersonal Declarative Clauses, a minority, do not have an obligatory Nucleus Subject tagmeme. An analysis of this and of the ordering of tagmemes will be made in Part 2 of this Clause analysis. Normally the Subject tagmeme precedes the Predicate tagmeme except in narrative style or where a question of emphasis is raised.

**TABLE NO. 1**

***Maré (Nengone) Clause Classes***

| 1 | 2 | 3 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Complete* | *Independent* | *Without an Interrogative tagmeme* | *Declarative* | 1 |
| | | | *Imperative* | 2 |
| | | *With an Interrogative tagmeme* | *Yes-No Interrogative* | 3 |
| | | | *Interrogative Subject* | 4 |
| | | | *Interrogative Non-Subject* | 5 |
| | | | *Extra Interrogative* | 6 |
| | *Dependent* | *Without an Extra Dependent tagmeme* | *Dependent Subject* | 7 |
| | | | *Dependent Non-Subject* | 8 |
| | | *Extra Dependent* | | 9 |
| *Defective* | | | | 10 |

## TABLE NO. 2

| Clause Type Classes | | | | | Independent Clauses | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | *Declarative* | *Examples* |
| *Obligatory Predicate* | *Active* | *Intransitive* | | 1 | +S +PrActIntrDec | bušɛŋon či lɛŋ<br>They two go. |
| | | *Transitive* | *Single* | 2 | +S +PrActTrSg +DO | inu čo ridi bo<br>I shall hit you. |
| | | | *Double* | 3 | +S +PrActTrDb +IO +DO | inu čo kano bon ore sɛrei<br>I shall give him the remedy. |
| | *Passive* | *Transitive* | *Single* | 4 | +S +PrPassTrSg +Ag | bon ha taŋo ŋɛn ore du<br>He was killed by the sun. |
| | | | *Double* | 5 | +IO +PrPassTrDb +S +Ag | bon ha ŋa kano sɛrei ŋɛn ore rɛtɔk<br>He was given the remedy by the Chief. |
| *Optional Verbal Predicate* | *Equational* | | | 6 | +EqP | bone kore tač<br>He is the strong one. |
| | *Identificational* | | | 7 | +IdPr +S | nese kore wakoko<br>Dry (are) the yams. |
| | *Stative* | | | 8 | +StPr +StCo | ɔnɔmɛlei kore wabubun<br>This is the end. |

*INDEPENDENT DECLARATIVE CLAUSES - MAXIMUM FORMULAE*

1. INTRANSITIVE

***Examples:***

(a) ɔnɔm ri wik ɔm waraŋi ɛǰ si nɛŋone ri burelaekaka
Now this week our boys from Maré on Saturday
čo lɛŋe di čo ɛleda ne buič i dipu
will go to play with them in Lifou.

(b) inu se ci ebɛredɔn inɔmɛle.
I speak in this way.

(c) bone ha sič wenɔre ŋa ridi bɔn ŋei buič
He fled because he was hit by them.

**Max: ±T, +S +Pr ±$T_2$ ±Mann ±Acc ±P ±C ±L ±Ben**

2. TRANSITIVE SINGLE

***Examples:***

(a) inu či ule ɔre mma ɛǰ hadu ri čadačele
I see our house there on the shore.

(b) ɔnɔm ome i nɛŋone čo pina lu kore rɛtɔk čo kɔdaruon
Now here in Maré the Chief will arrive to eat
ɔre wakoko
the yams.

(c) buič ome či kayo eŋiǰ wɛnɔre či pina kore pauteut
They here call us because a cyclone is coming.

**Max: ±T ±L +S +Pr ±Mann +DO ±IO ±Acc ±P ±C ±L ±Ben**

3. TRANSITIVE DOUBLE

***Examples:***

(a) ɔnɔm inu či kano bɔn ɔre ɛte čo ridi ɔre watitew
Now I give him a stone to hit the hen
i padɔku
at the Chief's house.

(b) inu či sibo bo čo kaka ɔre sɛrei ɔnɔm
I ask you to take the remedy now.

**Max: ±T ±L +S +Pr ±Mann +IO +DO ±Acc ±Inst ±P ±C**

4. PASSIVE SINGLE

***Examples:***

(a) ɔnɔm ri tit bɔn ha taŋo ŋɛn ɔre du wɛnɔre bɔne
Now at La Roche he was killed by the sun because he
ha ridi ɔre watitew
hit the hen.

(b) bɔn ha ŋa taŋo ŋɛn ɔre gusɛrei čo kaka
It was killed with a stick in order to eat.

**Max: ±T ±L +S +Pr +Ag ±Mann ±Acc ±P ±C ±Ben**

5. PASSIVE DOUBLE

***Examples:***

(a) ɔnɔm ri gula tadinu bɔn ha ŋa kano kore ɛte ŋɛn
Now at Tadine he was given a stone by
ɔre čɛnew[1] čo ridi ɔre wade wɛnɔre ha sič
the woman to hit the bird because it had fled.

(b) ɔnɔmelei ŋei bɔn ŋa kano toǰerene ɔre ɛte i pɛnelo
Then by him was gave Tojerene a stone at Penelo
bane so buič
for them.

**Max: ±T ±L +IO +Pr +S +Ag ±P ±Ben ±C**

6. EQUATIONAL CLAUSE

***Examples:***

(a) ɔre sɛrei ɔmɛlei ri toto nu
The tree there in the field is a coconut tree.

---

[1] This word means both woman and girl.

(b) wakalikali melei nidi wakoko bane so bɔn
The wakalikali there is a very good yam for him.

**Max: ±T +Pr ±L ±Acc +EqCo ±Ben**

7. IDENTIFICATIONAL CLAUSE

***Examples:***

(a) nidi ua kore ta nu adu ri čadačele
The coconut trees are well laden there at the shore.

(b) roi kore kɔdaru bane so buič wɛnɔre ɔnɔm ŋa
The food is good for them because now it
θɛre ŋɛn ɔre rɛtɔk
is picked by the Chief.

**Max: +IdPr +S ±L ±Ben ±C ±T ±Acc**

8. STATIVE CLAUSE

***Examples:***

(a) ome kore wagi ado ri rawa wɛnɔre ha čara
This is the hook here on the ground because it has fallen.

(b) ome kore rɛtɔk ɔnɔm ri padoku wɛnɔre bone čo isoiso
There is the Chief now at the house because he is going to fight.

**Max: +StPr +StCo ±L ±T ±Acc ±C ±P ±Ben**

***NOTE:*** The order in which the optional Satellite tagmemes occur is not rigid, but what is presented above represents the order with the highest statistical frequency. It has not been possible to list all optional Satellite tagmemes in any single Clause.

### 2.1.2. Independent Imperative Clause Class (Table No. 3)

The Class of five Imperative Clause Types has the following identificational-contrastive features and structure formula:

**TABLE NO. 3**

| Clause Type Classes | | | | | Independent Clause Class 2 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | *Imperative* | *Examples* |
| *Obligatory Predicate* | *Active* | *Intransitive* | | 1 | **+PrActIntr ±S** | kaka lo<br>Eat! |
| | | *Transitive* | *Single* | 2 | **+PrActTr +S +DO** | yose lu ɔre wakoko<br>Take the yams! |
| | | | *Double* | 3 | **+PrActTrDb +IO +DO** | kano bone lu ɔre mane<br>Give him the money! |
| | *Passive* | *Transitive* | *Single* | 4 | | |
| | | | *Double* | 5 | | |
| *Optional Verbal Predicate* | *Equational* | | | 6 | **+EqPr +S +EqCo** | čo bone kore tač<br>May he be the strong one! |
| | *Identificational* | | | 7 | **+IdPr +S** | čo nia ke bua<br>May you be evil! |
| | *Stative* | | | 8 | | |

**Kernel structure: DeclCl**

$T_{Imp}$

---

**ImpCl:** **+ImpPr**

The Imperative Clause Type, **ImpCl**, is an Imperative Transform, $T_{Imp}$, of a Declarative Clause Type. Its minimum Nucleus structure consists of an obligatory Nucleus Imperative Predicate which is not conjugated.

***NOTE:*** With Equational and Identificational Clauses the Predicate is semi-verbal, being made up of a verbal Time marker and a Noun/Pronoun/Adjective Phrase. Further reference to this will be made in the Phrase Level Analysis.

Maximum Formulae are not shown here as they are the same as those set out for Declarative Clauses.

Another type of Imperative can be formed, as in Dehu (Lifou) by simply employing čo before the verb.

e.g. čo kaka
eat!

This is a rather weak Imperative similar to the French infinitive of instruction.

### 2.1.3. Independent Yes-No Interrogative Clause Class (Table No.4)

The class of eight Yes-No Interrogative Clause Types has the following identificational-contrastive features and structure formula:

**Kernel structure: IndepDeclCl**

$T_{Yes\text{-}No}$

---

**Yes-No InterrCl: +Yes-No InterrPart +IndepDeclCl +Rising Intonation**

Yes-No Transform involves the addition of two features:

(a) Interrogative Particle
(b) Rising Intonation.

A Yes-No Interrogative Clause Type is a Yes-No Transform, $T_{Yes\text{-}No}$, of a Declarative Clause. Its minimum structure

## TABLE NO. 4

| Clause Type Classes | | | | | Independent Clause Class 3 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | *Yes-No Interrogative* | *Examples* |
| *Obligatory Predicate* | *Active* | *Intransitive* | | *1* | **+Q +S +PrIntrDec** | ilo inu čo roi<br>Will I live? |
| | | *Transitive* | *Single* | *2* | **+Q +S +PrActTrSg +DO** | ilo buŋiǰ ha ŋa čue moŋa<br>Have you accompanied the old man? |
| | | | *Double* | *3* | **+Q +S +PrActTrDb +IO +DO** | ilo bɔn čo kano bua ɔre mane<br>Will you give him the money? |
| | *Passive* | *Transitive* | *Single* | *4* | **+Q +S +PrPassTrSg +Ag** | ilo bɔn ha taŋo ŋɛn ɔre du<br>He was killed by the sun? |
| | | | *Double* | *5* | **+Q +IO +PrPassTrDb +S +Ag** | ilo bɔn ha na kano sɛrei ŋɛn ɔre rɛtɔk<br>Was he given the remedy by the Chief? |
| *Optional Verbal Predicate* | *Equational* | | | *6* | **+Q +EqPr +EqCo** | ilo eŋe watɛnɛgo<br>Are you my son? |
| | *Identificational* | | | *7* | **+Q +IdPr +S** | ilo nese kore wakoko<br>Are the yams dry? |
| | *Stative* | | | *8* | **+Q +StPr +StCo** | ilo ɔne kore wabubun<br>Is this the end? |

consists of an Independent Declarative Clause, a Yes-No Interrogative tagmeme and a rising intonation.

Often, however, the Interrogative is communicated solely by a rising intonation.

For maximum formulae, see Declarative Clause Types above.

### 2.1.4. Independent Interrogative Subject Clause Class (Table No. 5)

The class of six Interrogative Subject Clause Types has the following identificational-contrastive features and structure formula:

**Kernel structure: DeclCl**

$T_{SInterr}$

---

**InterrSCl: +InterrS +DeclPr**

An Interrogative Subject Clause Type, **InterrSCl**, is an Interrogative Subject Transform, $T_{SInterr}$, of a Declarative Clause. Its minimum structure consists of an obligatory Interrogative Subject tagmeme and an obligatory Declarative Predicate tagmeme.

In Clause Type No. 6, the Interrogative Subject tagmeme replaces the Predicate.

$T_{SInterr}$, the Interrogative Subject Transform, consists, apart from the cases mentioned above, of filling the obligatory Subject slot with an Interrogative Subject filler class.

**+InterrS** $\left\langle \begin{matrix} \textbf{InterrSPn} \\ \textbf{InterrNPhr} \end{matrix} \right\rangle$ , the obligatory Interrogative Subject tagmeme.

*Fillers:* The obligatory Interrogative Subject slot is filled by a composite filler class including the distribution subclasses: Interrogative Subject Pronoun <la> and Interrogative Noun Phrase composed of Interrogative Article <la kore> plus obligatory Noun Head.

### 2.1.5. Independent Interrogative Non-Subject Clause Class (Table No. 6)

The class of five Interrogative Non-Subject Clause Types has the following identificational-contrastive features and structure formula:

## TABLE NO. 5

| Clause Type Classes | | | | | Independent Clause Class 4 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | *Subject Interrogative* | *Examples* |
| *Obligatory Predicate* | *Active* | *Intransitive* | | 1 | **+InterrS +ActIntrPr** | la kore aičaŋan θu nide ibɛtu<br>Which boy runs fast? |
| | | *Transitive* | *Single* | 2 | **+InterrS +ActTrSgPr +DO** | la kore čɛnew θu ŋɔrɔnatan ɔre so kumala<br>Which woman prepares the yams? |
| | | | *Double* | 3 | **+InterrS +ActTrDbPr +IO +DO** | la kore čɛnew θu kano bɔn ɔre mane<br>Which woman gives him money? |
| | *Passive* | *Transitive* | *Single* | 4 | **+InterrS +PassTrSgPr +Ag** | la kore čɛnew ha taŋo ŋɛn ɔre du<br>Which woman was killed by the sun? |
| | | | *Double* | 5 | **+InterrS +PassTrDbPr +DO +Ag** | la kore čɛnew ha ŋa kano sɛrei ŋɛn ɔre retɔk<br>Which woman was given a remedy by the Chief? |
| *Optional Verbal Predicate* | *Equational* | | | 6 | **+InterrS +EqCo** | la ke bo<br>Who are you? |
| | *Identificational* | | | 7 | | |
| | *Stative* | | | 8 | | |

**TABLE NO. 6**

| Clause Type Classes | | | | | Independent Clause Class 5 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | *Non-Subject Interrogative* | *Examples* |
| *Obligatory Predicate* | *Active* | *Intransitive* | | 1 | | |
| | | *Transitive* | *Single* | 2 | **+S +ActTrSgPr +InterrO** | bo či ule la<br>Whom do you see? |
| | | | *Double* | 3 | **+S +ActTrDbPr +InterrIO +DO** | bo či kano la ɔre tusi<br>Whom do you give the book? |
| | *Passive* | *Transitive* | *Single* | 4 | | |
| | | | *Double* | 5 | **+PassTrPr +InterrIO +S** | ha ŋa kano la kore tusi<br>Whom was the book given? |
| *Optional Verbal Predicate* | *Equational* | | | 6 | **+InterrNS +EqCo** | ŋe kɔmɛle kore čɛle<br>What is the sea? |
| | *Identificational* | | | 7 | | |
| | *Stative* | | | 8 | **+InterrStNS +StatCo** | ɛle kore čaŋan ɔn<br>How many men are here? |

**Kernel structure: DeclCl**

**$T_{NonSInterr}$**

---

**InterrNonSCl: +[+IndepDeclCl-NS] +InterrNS**

The Interrogative Non-Subject Clause Type, **InterrNonSCl**, is a Non-Subject Interrogative Transform, **$T_{NonSInterr}$**, of a Declarative Clause Type. Its minimum structure consists of an obligatory Non-Subject tagmeme and an obligatory Independent Declarative Clause minus the portion which has been replaced.

**$T_{NonSInterr}$**, the Non-Subject Interrogative Transform.

It consists of the filling of a Non-Subject obligatory Nucleus tagmeme slot with an Interrogative Non-Subject filler, which consists of an Interrogative Noun Phrase. The replacing tagmeme is then transferred to the position after the Clause.

e.g. **bo či ule buič** - you see them.
**bo či ule la** - whom do you see?

In the Optional Verbal Clause Types, the Predicate (**EqPr**) tagmeme is filled by an Interrogative Non-Subject tagmeme.

e.g. **+S +EqCo**
**ɔre sɛrei nu** - the tree is a coconut.
**ŋe kɔmɛle kore sɛrei** - what is the tree?
**+InterrNS +EqCo**

### 2.1.6. Independent Extra Interrogative Clause Class (Table No.7)

The Class of eight Extra Interrogative Clause Types has the following identificational-contrastive features and structure formula:

**Kernel structure: DeclCl**

**$T_{InterrAdd}$**

---

**XInterrCl: +InterrIntrod +DeclCl**

An Extra Interrogative Clause Type, **XInterrCl**, is an

**TABLE NO. 7**

| Clause Type Classes | | | | | Independent Clause Class 6 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | *Extra Interrogative* | *Examples* |
| *Obligatory Predicate* | *Active* | *Intransitive* | | 1 | **+InterrIntrod +DeclCl$_1$** | ŋe kore tan bušɛŋon či lɛŋ<br>Why do they go? |
| | | *Transitive* | *Single* | 2 | **+InterrIntrod +DeclCl$_2$** | ŋe kore tan bɔne ci ridi bo<br>Why does he hit you? |
| | | | *Double* | 3 | **+InterrIntrod +DeclCl$_3$** | ŋe kore tan bo čo kano bɔn ɔre sɛrei<br>Why will you give him the remedy? |
| | *Passive* | *Transitive* | *Single* | 4 | **+InterrIntrod +DeclCl$_4$** | ŋe kore tan bɔn ha taŋo ŋɛn ɔre du<br>Why was he killed by the sun? |
| | | | *Double* | 5 | **+InterrIntrod +DeclCl$_5$** | ŋe kore tan bɔn ha ŋa kano sɛrei ŋɛn ɔre retɔk<br>Why was he given a remedy by the Chief? |
| *Optional Verbal Predicate* | *Equational* | | | 6 | **+InterrIntrod +DeclCl$_6$** | ŋe kore tan bɔne kɔre tač<br>Why is he the strong one? |
| | *Identificational* | | | 7 | **+InterrIntrod +DeclCl$_7$** | ŋe kore tan nese kɔre wakoko<br>Why are the yams dry? |
| | *Stative* | | | 8 | **+InterrIntrod +S** | o kore θan<br>Where are the intestines? |

Interrogative Addition Transform, $T_{InterrAdd}$, of a Declarative Clause Type. Its minimum structure consists of an obligatory Nucleus Interrogative Clause Introducer and an obligatory Nucleus Declarative Clause Type.

$T_{InterrAdd}$, the Interrogative Addition Transform, consists of the addition of an Interrogative Clause Introducer to the Kernel Declarative Clause Type.

*Interrogative Introducers:* ŋe kore tan (why) o / ilo (where) odaɛl (when) ŋe kore (how)

***NOTE:*** With the Extra Interrogative Stative Clause the Declarative Clause is reduced simply to a Subject.

### 2.1.7. Dependent Subject Clause Class (Table No. 8)

The Class of five Dependent Subject Clause Types has the following identificational-contrastive features and structure formula:

**Kernel structure: IndepDeclCl**

$T_{SDep}$

---

**DepSCl: +DepS +IndepDeclCl**

The Dependent Subject Clause Type, **DepSCl**, is a Dependent Transform, $T_{SDep}$, of an Independent Declarative Clause Type. It consists of a minimum of an obligatory Dependent Subject and an obligatory Declarative Predicate tagmeme.

$T_{SDep}$, the Dependent Subject Transform consists of filling the obligatory Subject slot with a Dependent Subject filler class which in Nengone (Maré) is the Direct Object of the preceding Independent Declarative Clause, the Object of the first Clause becoming the Subject of the second.

***EXAMPLE:*** yeuč či taeɖɛŋi vɛli či numa

The octopus hears the rat (which) laughs.

### 2.1.8. Dependent Non-Subject Clause Class (Table 9)

The Class of five Dependent Non-Subject Clause Types has the following identificational-contrastive features and structure formula:

**TABLE NO. 8**

| Clause Type Classes | | | | | Dependent Clause Class I | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | *Dependent Subject* | *Examples* |
| *Obligatory Predicate* | *Active* | *Intransitive* | | 1 | **+DepS +ActIntrPr** | (yeuč či taeɖɛŋi vɛli) či numa<br>The octopus hears the rat who laughs. |
| | | *Transitive* | *Single* | 2 | **+DepS +ActTrSgPr +DO** | (inu či ule ɔre ŋɔm) či nɛčɛn ɔre ruač<br>I see the man who directs the work. |
| | | | *Double* | 3 | **+DepS +ActTrDbPr +IO +DO** | (inu či ule ŋɔm) či kano bɔn ɔre sɛrei<br>I see the man who gives him a remedy. |
| | *Passive* | *Transitive* | *Single* | 4 | **+DepS +PassTrPr +IO** | (melei ɔre rerɔin) ŋa čue sei rekani čɛnew<br>This is the gift which is given to the girl's family. |
| | | | *Double* | 5 | **+DepS +PassTrDbPr +IO +Ag** | (inu či ule) ɔre sɛrei ha ŋa kano bɔn ŋɛn ɔre dɔku<br>I see the cure given him by the Chief. |
| *Optional Verbal Predicate* | *Equational* | | | 6 | | |
| | *Identificational* | | | 7 | | |
| | *Stative* | | | 8 | | |

TABLE NO. 9

| Clause Type Classes | | | | | Dependent Clause Class 2 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | Non-Subject Dependent | Examples |
| Obligatory Predicate | Active | Intransitive | | 1 | | |
| | | Transitive | Single | 2 | +DepDO +S +ActTrPr | (inu čo ridi) ɔre ŋɛnew buič či ule<br>I shall hit the woman whom they see. |
| | | | Double | 3 | +DepDO +S +ActTrDbPr +IO | (inu či θɛre) ɔre ɛte buič čo kano bɔn<br>I seek the stone which they will give him. |
| | Passive | Transitive | Single | 4 | | |
| | | | Double | 5 | +DepDO +PassTrPr +IO +Ag | (inu či ule) ɔre sɛrei ha ŋa kano bɔn ŋɛn ɔre rɛtɔk<br>I see the remedy given him by the Chief. |
| Optional Verbal Predicate | Equational | | | 6 | | |
| | Identificational | | | 7 | +DepDO +ActTrPr | (nese) kore wakoko ŋɛgu ŋa θɛre<br>The yams I looked for are dry. |
| | Stative | | | 8 | +DepDO +S +ActTrPr | (ɔnɔmɛlei) kore ŋɔm buič či ule<br>Here is the man they see. |

**Kernel structure: IndepDeclCl**

**$T_{NonSDep}$**

---

**DepNonSCl: +DepNS +[+DeclCl - NS]**

A Dependent Non-Subject Clause Type, **DepNonSCl**, is a Dependent Non-Subject Transform, **$T_{NonSDep}$**, of an Independent Declarative Clause Type. It consists of a minimum of an obligatory Dependent Non-Subject tagmeme and an obligatory Independent Declarative Clause Type minus its replaced tagmeme.

**$T_{NonSDep}$**, the Non-Subject Dependent Transform, consists of taking the Non-Subject tagmeme from the end of the Independent Declarative Clause and placing it at the beginning of the Dependent Clause so formed.

The Dependent Non-Subject slot is filled by any Noun Phrase or a Nominalised Verb Phrase. See below for analysis made on the Phrase level.

### 2.1.9. Extra Dependent Clause Class (Table No. 10)

The Class of eight Extra Dependent Clause Types has the following identificational-contrastive features and structure formula:

**Kernel structure: IndepDeclCl**

**$T_{DepAdd}$**

---

**XDepCl: +DepIntrod +IndepDeclCl**

The Extra Dependent Clause Type, **XDepCl**, is a Dependent Addition Transform, **$T_{DepAdd}$**, of an Independent Declarative Clause Type. It consists of a minimum of an obligatory Dependent Introducer tagmeme and an obligatory Independent Declarative Clause.

**$T_{DepAdd}$**, the Dependent Addition Transform, consists of the addition of a Dependent Clause Introducer tagmeme at the beginning of the Independent Declarative Clause.

*Dependent Clause Introducers:* wenore (why), odael (when), ilo (where).

## TABLE NO. 10

| Clause Type Classes | | | | | Dependent Clause Class 3 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | *Extra Dependent* | *Examples* |
| *Obligatory Predicate* | *Active* | *Intransitive* | | *1* | **+DepIntrod +IndepDecCl$_1$** | wɛnɔre bone či lɛŋ<br>Why he goes. |
| | | *Transitive* | *Single* | *2* | **+DepIntrod +IndepDecCl$_2$** | wɛnɔre bone ha ŋa ataŋoni ɔre rɛtɔk<br>Why he killed the Chief. |
| | | | *Double* | *3* | **+DepIntrod +IndepDecCl$_3$** | wɛnɔre bone ha kano buič ɔre sɛrei<br>Why he gave them a remedy. |
| | *Passive* | *Transitive* | *Single* | *4* | **+DepIntrod +IndepDecCl$_4$** | wɛnɔre bone ha taŋo ŋɛn ɔre du<br>Why he was killed by the sun. |
| | | | *Double* | *5* | **+DepIntrod +IndepDecCl$_5$** | wɛnɔre bon ha ŋa kano sɛrei ŋɛn ɔre rɛtɔk<br>Why he was given a remedy by the Chief. |
| *Optional Verbal Predicate* | *Equational* | | | *6* | **+DepIntrod +IndepDecCl$_6$** | wɛnɔre bone kore tač<br>Why he is the strong one. |
| | *Identificational* | | | *7* | **+DepIntrod +IndepDecCl$_7$** | wɛnɔre nese kore wakoko<br>Why the yams are dry. |
| | *Stative* | | | *8* | **+DepIntrod +IndepDecCl$_8$** | wɛnɔre ɔne kore wabubun<br>Why this is the end. |

## 2.2. Independent Declarative Clause Types

The Independent Declarative Clause Class is the Kernel Clause Class from which all other Nengone (Maré) Clause Classes are derived. Thus a complete analysis of Nengone Clause Types consists of a detailed analysis of all Declarative Clause Types.

There are eight Independent Declarative Clause Types which are grouped into larger and larger Clause Classes according to identificational-contrastive features, as stated in Table No.2, page 16, as follows:

I. There are -
*the Class of Obligatory Verbal Clause Types;*
*the Class of Optional Verbal Clause Types.*

II. *The Class of Obligatory Verbal Clause Types* includes:
the Active Clause Class;
the Passive Clause Class.

III. *The Class of Optional Verbal Clause Types* includes:
the Equational Clause Type (No.6);
the Identificational Clause Type (No.7);
the Stative Clause Type (No.8).

IV. *The Active Clause Class* includes:
the Active Intransitive Clause Type (No.1);
the Active Transitive Clause Class.

IVa. *The Active Transitive Clause Class* includes:
the Active Single Transitive Clause Type (No.2);
the Active Double Transitive Clause Type (No.3).

V. *The Passive Clause Class* includes:
the Passive Single Transitive Clause Type (No.4);
the Passive Double Transitive Clause Type (No.5).

*CLAUSE CLASSES AND GENERAL REMARKS*

*Selection of the Form of the Predicate*

In Nengone (Maré) the Subject does not determine the form of the Predicate tagmeme, as Predicates are invariable except for Time, Active and Passive.

e.g. inu **či kaka** I eat; **buič či kaka** They eat.

*Independent Declarative Clause Types in Detail*

With each of the eight Independent Declarative Clause Types will be given both the minimum Nucleus and maximum expanded formulae.

Nucleus Clause level tagmemes will be stated with their slots and filler classes where necessary. Optional Clause level tagmemes will be stated only in terms of slots.

Each Nucleus and optional Satellite Clause level tagmeme will be treated in detail in the Phrase Level Analysis below.

Minimum Nucleus formulae present only the Nucleus Clause level tagmemes of each Clause Type.

Maximum expanded formulae present the Nucleus Clause level tagmemes and also the optional Satellite Clause level tagmemes.

The optional Satellite Clause level tagmemes are: **T** - time; **L** - location; **Mann** - manner; **Freq** - frequency; **Inst** - instrument; **Ben** - benefactive; **P** - purpose; **C** - cause; **Acc** - accompaniment; **IO** - indirect Object.

With maximum expanded formulae, an attempt has been made to include the greatest number of optional Satellite tagmemes possible, although all possibilities could not be included in any one Clause without great artificiality.

### 2.2.1. Independent Declarative Clause Type 1: the Active Intransitive Declarative Clause

The Active Intransitive Declarative Clause Type has the following identificational-contrastive features:

(1) It has no Passive Transform.
(2) Its minimum Nucleus structure is composed of two obligatory tagmemes.

The Subject tagmeme may be omitted, but only in the following special circumstances:

(a) The Subject tagmeme is omitted if it has recently been mentioned in the conversation, when such insertion would render the construction clumsy and unnatural.
e.g. čo ridi bɔn
(I) shall hit him.

This construction would appear if **inu** (I) had been the Subject of the previous Clause.

(b) The Clause may sometimes be made Impersonal. In such cases, the Subject tagmeme is omitted, leaving only the Predicate, without the introduction of an Impersonal Substitute as in Dehu.
e.g. čo θaɛt
(one) will sleep.

**MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA:**

**+S[PersPn] +Pr[ActIntrDecV-Phr]**

| | |
|---|---|
| buič | či θaɛt |
| They | sleep. |

The fillers of all slots are explained and analysed in the Phrase Level Analysis.

**EXPANDED MAXIMUM FORMULA:**

**±T +S +Pr $\pm T_2$ ±Mann ±Acc ±P ±C ±L ±Ben**

***EXAMPLES:***

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ɔnɔm | ri | wik | ɔm | waraŋi | ɛǰ | si | nɛŋone | ri burelaekaka |
| **±T** | | | | **+S** | | | | **±T** |
| Now | | week | this | team | our | | Maré | on Saturday |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| čo | lɛŋe | di | čo ɛleda | ne | buič i dipu |
| **+Pr** | | **±P** | **±Acc** | | **±L** |
| will go | | to play | with | them | on Lifou. |

***NOTE:*** Optional Satellite Time and Location tagmemes may occur almost anywhere, having fewer restrictions than all other optional Satellite tagmemes. Further examples of expanded formulae are given on p. 17 with the Chart indicating minimum formula.

### 2.2.2. Independent Declarative Clause Type 2: the Active Single Transitive Declarative Clause Type

The Active Single Transitive Declarative Clause Type has the following identificational-contrastive features:

(1) It has one Passive Transform.
(2) Its minimum Nucleus structure is composed of three obligatory Nucleus tagmemes.

**MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA:**

**+S[PersPn] +Pr[ActSgTrDecV-Phr] +DO[NPhr]**

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| inu | | čo | kaka | ɔre wakoko |
| I | | shall | eat | the yam. |

The Direct Object may be omitted under special conditions. When the Predicate implies an Object and any other statement of the Object would render the construction redundant, then the Direct Object tagmeme is omitted. This

represents a very small percentage of cases.

**EXPANDED MAXIMUM FORMULA:**

**±T ±L +S +Pr ±Mann +DO ±IO ±Acc ±P ±C ±L ±Ben**

***EXAMPLE:***

buič ome či kayo enij wɛnɔre či pina kore pauteut
**+S ±L +Pr +DO ±C**
They here call us because arrives a cyclone.

### 2.2.3. Independent Clause Type 3: the Active Double Transitive Declarative Clause Type

The Active Double Transitive Declarative Clause Type has the following identificational-contrastive features:

(1) It has two Passive Transforms.
(2) Its minimum Nucleus structure is composed of four obligatory Nucleus tagmemes.

**MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA:**

**+S[PersPn] +Pr[ActDbTrDecV-Phr] +IO[NPhr] +DO[NPhr]**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| bo | či kano | buič | ɔre ɛte |
| You | give | them | the stone. |

$T_{IO}$, the Indirect Object Transform.

The obligatory Nucleus Indirect Object tagmeme can undergo an Indirect Object Transform, $T_{IO}$, and become an optional Satellite Indirect Object tagmeme in the Active Single Transitive Declarative Clause Type.

**Kernel structure: ActTrDbDeclCl**

$T_{IO}$

---

**ActSgTrDeclCl: +S +Pr +DO ±IO**

An Active Single Transitive Declarative Clause can be an Indirect Object Transform of an Active Double Transitive Declarative Clause with an optional Satellite Indirect Object tagmeme.

e.g. **+S +Pr +DO ±IO**
inu či kanon ɔre tusi du bɔn
I give the book to him.

**EXPANDED MAXIMUM FORMULA:**

**±T ±L +S +Pr ±Mann +IO +DO ±Acc ±Inst ±P ±C**

***EXAMPLE:***

ɔnɔm inu či kano bɔn ɔre ɛte čo ridi ɔre watitew i
**±T +S +Pr +IO +DO ±P ±L**
Now I give him the stone to hit the fowl at the

padɔku

Chief's house.

### 2.2.4. Independent Declarative Clause Type 4: the Passive Single Transitive Declarative Clause Type

The Passive Single Transitive Declarative Clause Type has the following identificational-contrastive features:

(1) It has an obligatory Nucleus Agent tagmeme.
(2) It has three obligatory Nucleus tagmemes as its minimum Nucleus structure.

**MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA:**

**+S +Pr +Ag**
bɔn ha ŋa taŋo ŋɛn ɔre du
He was killed by the sun.

**EXPANDED MAXIMUM FORMULA:**

**±T ±L +S +Pr +Ag ±Mann ±Acc ±P ±C ±Ben**

***EXAMPLE:***

ɔnɔm ri tit bɔn ha taŋo ŋɛn ɔre du wɛnɔre bone ha
**±T ±L +S +Pr +Ag ±C**
Now at La Roche he was killed by the sun because he

ridi ɔre watitew

struck the hen.

***NOTE:*** The tagmemes may also occur in another order:

**+Ag +Pr +S**
ŋɛgu ŋa ridi bɔn
By me was hit he.

ŋei buič ŋa ridi bɔn
By them was hit he.

This ordering occurs normally only when the Agent is pronominal.

### 2.2.5. Independent Declarative Clause Type 5: the Passive Double Transitive Declarative Clause Type

The Passive Double Transitive Declarative Clause Type has the following identificational-contrastive features:

(1) It has an obligatory Nucleus Agent tagmeme.
(2) Its minimum Nucleus structure is composed of four obligatory Nucleus tagmemes arranged in a distinctive order.

**MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA:**

| +IO | +Pr | +S | +Ag |
|---|---|---|---|
| bɔn ha ŋa kano | kore | ɛte | ŋɛn ɔre rɛtɔk |
| He was given the | stone | by | the Chief. |

**EXPANDED MAXIMUM FORMULA:**

±T ±L +IO +Pr +S +Ag ±P ±Ben ±C

***EXAMPLE:***

| ɔnɔm | ri | gula | tadinu | buŋiǰ | ha | ŋa | kano | kore | ɛte | ŋɛn | ɔre |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ±T | ±L | | | +IO | | +Pr | | | +S | | +Ag |
| Now | near | | Tadine | you | were | | given | the | stone | by | the |

| čɛnew | čo | ridi | ɔre | wade | wɛnɔre | ha | sič |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ±P | | | ±C | | | |
| woman | to | hit | the | bird | because | it | fled. |

### 2.2.6. Independent Declarative Clause Type 6: the Equational Declarative Clause Type

The Equational Declarative Clause Type has the following identificational-contrastive features:

(1) It has no Passive Transform.
(2) Its minimum Nucleus structure is composed of two obligatory Nucleus tagmemes neither of which is normally verbal.

**MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA:**

| +EqPr | +EqCo | |
|---|---|---|
| bɔne | kore | tač |
| He | is a | tough man. |

***NOTE:*** Both obligatory Nucleus tagmemes are nominal.

**EXPANDED MAXIMUM FORMULA:**

**±T +Pr ±L ±Acc +EqCo ±Ben**

***EXAMPLE:***

| wakalikali | nidi | wakoko bane so bɔn |
|---|---|---|
| **+EqPr** | | **+EqCo ±Ben** |

The wakalikali is a very good yam for him.

With the Equational Declarative Clause Type maximal expansion is very difficult, as is true for the other optional Verbal Predicate Clause Types below.

### 2.2.7. Independent Declarative Clause Type 7: the Identificational Declarative Clause Type

The Identificational Declarative Clause Type has the following identificational-contrastive features:

(1) It has no Passive Transform.
(2) Its minimum Nucleus structure is composed of two obligatory Nucleus tagmemes neither of which is verbal nor has the same obligatory ordering as the Equational Clause.
(3) The fillers of the obligatory Nucleus tagmemes are different from those of the Equational Clause, the Predicate tagmeme being Adjectival.

**MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA:**

| **+IdPr** | **+S** |
|---|---|
| nidi ua | kore ta nu |

are well laden the coconut trees.

***NOTE:*** The order of these tagmemes may occasionally be reversed, although such a reversal normally leaves the utterance incomplete.

e.g. ɔre **mma ni rɛtɔk me wa'am**
The Chief's house is small.

This normally represents a modified Noun Phrase. Note that when the Adjective follows the Noun Head it is always preceded by me, the Adjective Introducer.

**EXPANDED MAXIMUM FORMULA:**

**+IdPr +S ±L ±Ben ±C ±T ±Acc**

***EXAMPLE:***

| roi | kore kɔdaru | bane | so buič | wɛnɔre | ɔnɔm | ŋa | θɛre |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **+IdPr** | **+S** | **±Ben** | | **±C** | **±T** | | |
| (Is good) | the food | for | them | because | now | it was | brought |

ŋɛn ɔre rɛtɔk

by the Chief.

### 2.2.8. Independent Declarative Clause Type 8: the Stative Declarative Clause Type

The Stative Declarative Clause Type has the following contrastive-identificational features:

(1) It has no Passive Transform.
(2) The filler of the Stative Predicate slot has a different filler Class from either the Equational or the Identificational Declarative Clauses.

**MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA:**

| **+StatPr** | **+StCo** |
|---|---|
| ome | kore rɛtɔk |
| Here is | the Chief. |

The list of Special Stative Predicates is enumerated below, in the Phrase Level Analysis.

**EXPANDED MAXIMUM FORMULA:**

**+StPr +StCo ±L ±T ±Acc ±C ±P ±Ben**

***EXAMPLE:***

| ome | kore wagi | ado | ri | rawa | wɛnɔre | ha čara |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **+StPr** | **+StCo** | **±L** | | | **±C** | |

Here is the hook here on the ground because it has fallen.

# 3. PHRASE LEVEL ANALYSIS

## 3.1. Nucleus Clause Level tagmemes

### 3.1.1. +Pr, the Obligatory Nucleus Predicate tagmeme

***Nengone (Maré) Predicate Hyperclass***

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="4">Verbal<br>Hyperclass</td><td rowspan="4">Verb</td><td rowspan="2">Active</td><td colspan="2">Intransitive</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Transitive</td><td>Single</td></tr>
<tr><td>Double</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Passive</td><td rowspan="2">Transitive</td><td>Single</td></tr>
<tr><td>Double</td></tr>
<tr><td>Non-Verbal<br>or<br>Optional<br>Verbal</td><td colspan="4">Noun<br>Adjective<br>Stative Predicate</td></tr>
</table>

There are no real modals in Nengone, such ideas being communicated by the use of kaĉen, and ordinary time markers.

#### 3.1.1.1. Close-knit Active Verb Phrases

**VPhr**[**+Time Particle** ⟨**Pres** / **Past** / **Fut.**⟩ **+VH** ⟨**Intr** / **Trans** / **Adj** / **Adv** / **Noun**⟩ ]

**+VH** ⟨**Intr** / **Trans** / **Adj** / **Adv** / **Noun**⟩ , the obligatory nucleus Verb Head slot, is

filled by five alternate division-subclasses:

(i) Intransitive Verb
(ii) Transitive Verb
(iii) Adjective
(iv) Adverb
(v) Noun.

**+T** is the obligatory Time particle.

***NOTE:*** **+VH<Adj>** in Identificational Clause Types, e.g. **nese kore wakoko** - the yams are dry.

**+VH<Adv>** occurs sometimes in Intransitive Clauses.

**+VH<Noun>** occurs in Equational Clauses when the optional verbal Predicate is used.
e.g. **čo bone kore tač**
He will be the strong one.

### 3.1.1.1.1. Examples of Active Verb Phrases

**+S** **+Pr[ActIntrDecV-Phr<+T +VH<IV>>]**
**bušɛŋon či lɛŋ** (Present tense)
They go.

**+T<či>** indicates Present tense.

Exceptionally the Clause may be made Impersonal by the omission of **+S**. **+S** may also be omitted if the Subject has already been mentioned within the immediate context. For a note on the optional position of **+S**, see the analysis of the obligatory Subject tagmeme below.

Aspect is important in Nengone, in contrast with Dehu (Lifou) and is best presented in conjunction with the tenses.

(a) **čo či** and **ŋa či** both translate a Present Habitual, the former with reference to the Future and the latter with reference to the Past.

***EXAMPLES:***

**bušɛŋon čo či ule**
**bušɛŋon ŋa či ule**
They see.

(b) **be či** and **či me** both translate a Present Continuous, the former being more emphatic than the latter.

***EXAMPLES:***

**bušɛŋon be či kaka**
**bušɛŋon či me kaka**
They are eating.

It should be noted that **či me** is usually reserved for use in narrative style.

#### 3.1.1.1.2. Future Tense

**+S +Pr[ActIntrDecV-Phr<+T +VH<IV>>]**
bušɛŋon čo ule
They will see.

**+T<čo>** indicates Future tense (general).

Notes made concerning the omission of **+S** made for the Present tense are applicable with this and all other tenses.

(a) **ha či** indicates a very immediate Future in which the action is absolutely imminent.

e.g. **bɔne ha či ridi bua**
He will hit you.

If such a thing were said, immediate action would be taken by the person addressed.

(b) **ha čo** indicates an immediate Future, but less imminent than that expressed by **ha či**.

e.g. **inu ha čo θaɛt**
I shall sleep.

(c) **čo** can also be used to express Purpose.

A statement will be made about this during the analysis of optional Satellite tagmemes.

#### 3.1.1.1.3. Past Tense

There are three ways of expressing Past tense in Nengone.

***EXAMPLES:***

(a) **inu ŋa ridi bɔn**
**+S +Pr[ActTrDecV-Phr(+T +VH(TV))]**
I hit him.

**+T<ŋa>** indicates a completed action.

(b) **inu ha ŋa θɛre bo**
**+S +Pr[ActTrDecV-Phr<+T +VH<TV>>]**
I was looking for you.

**+T<ha ŋa>** indicates a past state which now exists no longer.

(c) **inu ha θɛre bo**
**+S +Pr[ActTrDecV-Phr<+T +VH<TV>>]**
I sought you.

**+T<ha>** indicates a past state which still continues in the Present.

***NOTE:*** All of these verbal forms can be used to form the Passive, but with a rather different tagmeme ordering.

(d) There is a special form **ha as ŋa** which states categorically that the action is terminated.

e.g. **inu ha as ŋa kaka**
**+S +Pr[ActTrDecV-Phr<+T +VH<TV>>]**
I have finished eating.

**+T<ha as ŋa>** indicates complete termination of the activity in question.

A special aspect appears when the ordinary time markers **či, čo, ŋa** are replaced by **θu**. With this the Subject becomes very closely linked to the Predicate. The resulting form could be called Capacitative.

***EXAMPLES:***

**buič θu kaka ne θu kua**
They eat and drink.

But this really means: They are eaters and drinkers, and contrasts with:

**buič či kaka ne či kua**
They eat and drink.

### 3.1.1.1.4. Desideratives

The Desiderative form of the Verb in Nengone does not exist as a special Type, but exists as an ordinary Transitive Verb.

e.g. **inu či alan čo kaka**
I want to eat.

The Frustrative form of the Verb is translated by **ba θu**.

e.g. **inu ha ba θu čara**
I almost fell.

An undetermined Narrative tense exists in Nengone, being indicated by **me**.

e.g. **hale me lɛŋe lu yawe**
Then one continues again.

### 3.1.1.1.5. Imperatives

The Imperative has the following construction:

(a) Normally the Verb remains unconjugated but is followed by the particles **lu/lo**.

e.g. **kaka lo**
Eat!

**lu** is used when the Object of the instruction is on a lower physical level than the doer of the action.

(b) When more than two persons are ordered, the particle **zi** is employed before the Predicate.

e.g. **zi kaka lo**
Eat! (more than two people)

(c) With first person plural, the marker **ba** is used.

e.g. **ba hue** Let us go!

(d) The normal Imperative can be made deprecative by the introduction of **da**.

e.g. **da hue lo** Go! (polite form)

(e) However, the Strongest Imperative requires **ho** before the Verb.

e.g. **ho hue** Go!!

### 3.1.1.1.6. Conditional

The Conditional is expressed in two main ways in Nengone (Maré):

(a) When the result of the condition is uncertain the following construction is used:

**ŋei + S + ma + Pr**

e.g. **ŋei ɛǰ ma čo kaka ibɛtu...**
If we eat immediately...

(b) When the result of the condition is considered certain, **me** replaces **ma**.

e.g. **ŋei ɛǰ me čo pina...**
If we come...

The Negative Conditional is as follows:

**ŋei + S + me + deko + Pr**

e.g. **ŋei ɛǰ me deko ŋa kaka...**
If we did not eat...

(c) When irreal condition is expressed, the following construction is used:

**kačɛn + Pr...** (**kačɛn**) **+ Pr**

e.g. **kačɛn inu ŋa ča kag ɔre puaka deko ŋa**
If I had made a fence, the pig would not have

**kakan ɔre wakoko**
eaten the yam.

The Negative for irreal condition is the same as that for the normal Conditional, **kačɛn** replacing **ŋei**.

### 3.1.1.1.7. Necessitatives

The Necessitative has the following constructions:

(a) If the Subject is not expressed, the Necessitative consists of **roi**(good) plus Predicate.

e.g. **roi** **čo kɔnekatu** **rɛtɔk**
One must help the Chief.

(b) If the Subject is expressed, the Necessitative consists of **roi** plus Subject plus Predicate.

e.g. **roi ke bo čo hue**
Must you go.

When the Necessitative is weak, the ordinary Future is used instead of the construction with **roi**.

### 3.1.1.2. Close-knit Passive Verb Phrases

With the Passive Verb Phrases one finds the same Nucleus tagmemes as those in the Active Verb Phrases. In fact what distinguishes the two is the obligatory Nucleus Agent/Instrument tagmeme. In this case, however, some of the tagmemes of the Active fill different functions in the Passive, especially in Passive Double Transitive Clauses.

**PassivePr<+TransV-Phr... +Ag>**

It should be pointed out that the Passive Verb Phrases occur much more often in the Past than in the Present or Future.

***EXAMPLES:***

(a) **bɔn ha taŋo ŋɛn ɔre du** (Past)
**+S +Pr[ActTrPass] +Ag**
He was killed by the sun.

The same Time markers are used in both the Active and the Passive.

The Agentive **ŋɛn ɔre** may be replaced by **ŋei** when the article **ɔre** is not used or with a Pronominal Agent as in Dehu (Lifou).

With Present and Future tenses the Subject of the Clause fills the slot occupied by the Object in Active Clauses.

***EXAMPLES:***

**či ridi bɔn ŋɛn ɔre gusɛrei**
Is hit he by a stick.
**+Pr +S +Ag** (Present)

čo ridi bɔn ŋɛn ɔre gusɛrei
Will be hit he by a stick.
+Pr +S +Ag (Future)

All aspects can be represented in the Passive with the same construction as that shown above.

### 3.1.1.3. Close-knit Negated Verb Phrases

**NegVPhr**: [+Neg +T +VH **TrVb** / **IntrVb** ]

A Negated Verb Phrase is the Negation Transform of the Affirmative Close-knit Verb Phrase. It consists of the obligatory Negative Introducer deko, the obligatory Nucleus tense slot, and the obligatory Nucleus Verb Head slot filled by a composite filler class, Transitive or Intransitive Verb stem.

***EXAMPLES:***

(a) inu deko ma ɛrɛd (Present)
+S +NegIntr +Pr[ActTrDecV-Phr<+T +VH>]
I do not fight.

Note that with the Negative, the Present tense marker či becomes ma.

(b) inu deko čo kaka (Future)
+S +Neg +Pr[ActTrDecV-Phr<+T +VH>]
I not shall eat.

(c) inu deko ŋa ule (Past)
+S +Neg +Pr[ActTrV-Phr<+T +VH>]
I not have seen.

***NOTE:*** There is a Special Negation construction with Competence/Incompetence, Ability/Inability forms.

***EXAMPLE:***

inu θa θuni ko čo ule
+S +Neg +Pr +
I cannot see.

With this form, deko is replaced by the Negation Introducer θa (as in Dehu) and the Negative Particle ko, which follows the Predicate.

Also: inu θa ule ko
I do not know.

(d) Negation of Imperatives:

(i) The strong form of the Negative Imperative is characterised by the use of **hage**.
e.g. **hage yose ke bua**
(Do not take it you (**Sj**))
Do not take it.

(ii) The weaker form is translated by the Future Negative **deko čo**.
e.g. **deko čo yose**
Do not take it.

Note that Third Person Objects are often left unexpressed in Nengone (Maré).

### 3.1.1.4. Close-knit Interrogative Verb Phrases

Interrogative Verb Phrases do not usually occur in Nengone. Rather, one finds an Interrogative Introducer plus an Independent Declarative Clause.

e.g. **ilo buŋiǰ ha ŋa čue moŋa**
**+IntIntr +S +Pr [ActTrDecV-Phr] +O**
Question you have accompanied the old man.
(Have you accompanied the old man?)

Normally, however, Interrogation is indicated simply by a rising intonation. For details of this, see the Section on Intonation Patterns.

e.g. **buŋiǰ ha ŋa čue moŋa**? + Intonation //

Inversion of Subject and Predicate tagmemes which sometimes occurs in Dehu (Lifou) does not exist in Nengone.

*Negation of the Interrogative Verb Phrase*

The negation of the Interrogative Verb Phrase in Nengone is performed by employing an Interrogative Introducer plus the normal negative form of the Verb Phrase.

e.g. **ilo bo deko ma ule**
Question **+S +Neg +Pr**
Question you not see?

When an Interrogative Introducer is not present, however, Interrogation is indicated solely by the rising intonation mentioned above. Details of this have been given in the Intonation Analysis.

In colloquial speech, **ŋe** sometimes replaces **ilo** as Interrogative Introducer, but follows the Subject.

### 3.1.1.5. Adjectival Verb Phrases

Verbalised Adjectives occur in Clause Class 7, the Identificational Clause. In this Class, the Verbal Predicate is optional. In most cases the Adjective alone fills the role of the Predicate, while the obligatory Nucleus Subject slot is filled by a Noun Phrase. The Identificational Verb Phrase has the following formula:

**IdV-Phr**: [**+Pr<Adj>**] **+S<NPhr>**

***EXAMPLE:***

(a) **nidi nia kore rɛtɔk**
Very bad the Chief.
(The Chief is very bad.)

Occasionally, however, the Adjectival Predicate may follow the Subject tagmeme. In such cases it is preceded by the Adjectival Particle **me**.

(b) **ɔre mma ni rɛtɔk me wa'am**
**+S** **+Pr[Adj]**
The house of the Chief is small.

Again, optionally, and with no difference in meaning, the Predicate may consist of the Time marker **ha**, indicating a State, plus the Adjective.

(c) **ha nidi nia kɔre rɛtɔk**
**<+T +Adj>** **+Pr** **+S**
Is very bad the Chief.
(The Chief is very bad.)

The addition of the Verbal Time marker does not change the meaning of the Clause, but merely allows changes in time to be indicated.

### 3.1.1.6. Stative Predicates

Stative Predicates, almost without exception non-verbal in nature, occur with Stative Clause Types, Clause Type 8 and not elsewhere. They have no tense distinctions except when the Time marker is introduced, extremely rarely. They invariably precede the Stative Complement.

Thus the Stative Clause has the following formula:

**StatCl**: [**+StatPr +StatCo**] **+StatPr** ⟨ **ome** / **ɔmɛlei** / **ɔnɔmɛlei** / **inɔm** / **melei** / **numu** ⟩ , the Stative Predicate.

Any of these six fillers may be used to form the Stative Predicate, although there is a difference in meaning with **numu**.

(a) **numu** indicates that the Complement simply exists without demonstration.

e.g. **numu rue wanata**
There are two stories.

(b) The other Stative Predicates listed above are all demonstrative of the Complement.

e.g. **ɔnɔmɛlei kore wabubun**
This is the end.

Any one of the Stative Predicates may be substituted for the other with no change in meaning or emphasis.

(c) The Verbal Time marker, in almost all cases **ha**, may be introduced, but is quite optional.

e.g. **ha numu rue ŋɛnew**
There are two women.

### 3.1.1.7. Equational Predicates

It was shown above that the Equational Clause has the following structure formula:

**EqCl**: [**+EqPr +EqCo**] **+EqPr** $\begin{matrix}\textbf{N-Phr}\\\textbf{Pn-Phr}\end{matrix}$ **the Equational Predicate.**

The fillers of this Class may be either a Noun Phrase or a Pronoun Phrase.

e.g. (a) **kore sɛrei ɔm nu**
**+EqPr<N-Phr> +EqCo**
Tree this is a coconut tree.

(b) **bɔne kore tač**
**+EqPr<Pn-Phr> +EqCo**
He is the strong one.

The Verbal Time marker may here be introduced optionally thus:

**ha bɔne kore tač**
He is the strong one.

Other tenses may be indicated by the introduction of the appropriate Verbal Time marker.

### 3.1.2. Obligatory Nucleus Subject tagmeme

The Subject tagmeme, obligatory and Nucleus to the eight Clause Types, does not determine the form of the Predicate

tagmeme. In all Clause Types it normally precedes the Predicate, filling the first obligatory Nucleus slot.

**3.1.2.1.** As the position of the Subject tagmeme may vary, this will be discussed here before the actual analysis of the constituents of the Subject tagmeme.

Normally, the Subject tagmeme occurs first, thus:

bušɛŋon či lɛŋ
+S +Pr
They go.

When the emphasis is placed on the action rather than the actor, the following order is found:

či lɛŋ ke bušɛŋon
+Pr +S

Note that when the Subject tagmeme follows the Predicate the Subject markers **ke, kei, kore** are employed. A discussion of these markers will be found below.

With Transitive Verb Predicates there are three possible positions for the Subject tagmeme.

(a) inu či ule ɔre rɛtɔk
+S +Pr +0
I see the Chief.

(b) n̥a one eŋiǰ kore wɛne
+Pr +0 +S
Hit us the cyclone.

In this case the emphasis rests on the Predicate.

(c) In certain oratorical styles the order is as follows:

či ule kore rɛtɔk ɔre so wakoko
+Pr +S +0
Sees the Chief the yams.

This is rather rare and not encountered in colloquial speech.

In the Active Clause Types, the Subject tagmeme has the function of Performer of the Action, while in Passive Clause Types its function is that of Undergoer of the Action.

**3.1.2.2.** The obligatory Nucleus Subject slots in the different Clause Types are filled by a composite filler Class. The following is the formula showing the possible distribution subclasses:

$$+S \left\langle \begin{matrix} N\text{-}Phr \\ Pn\text{-}Phr \end{matrix} \right\rangle$$

*Fillers:* The obligatory Nucleus Subject slot is filled by either a Noun Phrase or a Pronoun Phrase.

3.1.2.2.1. N-Phr $\left\langle \begin{matrix} N_n\text{-Phr} \\ N_{Adj}\text{-Phr} \\ N_V\text{-Phr} \end{matrix} \right\rangle$, **the Noun Phrase distribution-subclass**

The Noun Phrase distribution-subclass includes three division-subclasses: $Noun_{Noun}$ Phrase, Nominalised Adjective Phrase, and Nominalised Verb Phrase.

3.1.2.2.1.1. $N_n\text{-Phr}[\begin{matrix} CommN_n\text{-Phr} \\ PropN_n\text{-Phr} \end{matrix}]$, **the $Noun_{Noun}$ Phrase division**

The $Noun_{Noun}$ Phrase division includes two smaller divisions, Common $Noun_{Noun}$ Phrase and Proper $Noun_{Noun}$ Phrase.

$CommN_n\text{-Phr}[\begin{matrix} CommN_C\text{-Phr} \\ CommN_M\text{-Phr} \end{matrix}]$, the Common $Noun_{Noun}$ Phrase division

The Common $Noun_{Noun}$ Phrase includes two divisions, Common $Noun_{CountNoun}$ Phrase and Common $Noun_{MassNoun}$ Phrase.

3.1.2.2.1.1.1. $CommN_C\text{-Phr}[\begin{matrix} CommN_{CSg}\text{-Phr} \\ CommN_{CPl}\text{-Phr} \end{matrix}]$, **the Common $Noun_{Count}$ Noun division**

The Common $Noun_{Count}$Noun Phrase includes two divisions, Common $Noun_{Count}$NounSingular Phrase and Common $Noun_{Count}$ NounPlural Phrase.

3.1.2.2.1.1.1.1. The Common $Noun_{Count}$NounSingular Phrase has the minimum Nucleus and expanded maximum formulae as follows:

**MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA:**

**$\text{CommN}_{\text{CSg}}\text{Phr}$: [+Det ⟨ DefArt / Num ⟩ +NH<$\text{CommN}_{\text{CSg}}$> ±PostD ⟨ Dem / Poss ⟩ ]**

***Fillers:*** The Common NounCountNounSingular Phrase has a minimum Nucleus structure of an obligatory Nucleus Determiner slot filled by a composite filler class including two alternate distribution-subclasses: Definite Article and Numeral Article. The maximum expanded formula includes the Demonstrative Article and the Possessive as optional Post-Determiner tagmemes.

### 3.1.2.2.1.1.1.1.1. +Det ⟨ DefArt / Num ⟩, the Determiner tagmeme

(a) *THE DEFINITE ARTICLE*

The Nengone language has a great variety of Articles as follows:

| | *Singular* | *Plural* | *General* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ***Definite Article*** - | | | |
| *Subject:* | o; kore/kei/ke | kore ta | |
| *Object:* | o; ɔre/ɔre re | ɔre ta | |
| ***Indefinite Article*** - | | | |
| *Subject:* | ko se | ko ta | se ta |
| *Object:* | o se | o ta | o se ta |
| | | | o so } group, |
| | | | ɔre so } heap |
| | | | ɔre nodei (all) |
| ***Special Articles*** - | ade | | |
| | re | | |
| | mo | | |

***EXAMPLES:***

| | |
|---|---|
| ko re rɛtɔk | the Chief |
| ko re ta rɛtɔk | the Chiefs |
| ke buič | them (when +S follows +Pr. Only with Pronouns) |
| kei +PropN | (when +S follows +Pr) |
| ko se ŋɔm | a certain man |
| ko ta ŋɔm | certain men |

ade - a small undetermined number article, e.g. ade pailai three or four dogs.

**re** - occurs only as a plural article with families etc., e.g. **rekani čɛnew** The girl's families

**mo** - a collective plural used only with persons, e.g. **močaɱan** The boys; **močɛnew** The girls

**o** - occurs only with names of places or Proper Nouns, e.g. **nue but o dipu** To leave Lifou.

***NOTE:*** (1) **ki** appears sometimes in questions.
e.g. **o ki čɛčɛn ni buɱiǰ**
Where the father of you?
(Where is your father?)
However, the replacement of the other articles by **ki** is not regular, tending to be used in formal speech.

(2) **čo** appears as an exhaustive article.
e.g. **ri ta čo nɔd**
In all countries.
This is a rare construction, and one which is restricted to enumerations.

(3) **re** may be used to indicate some quality.
e.g. **koe re iru**
Boat of war (a warship)

(b) *THE NUMERAL*

The Numeral Article in Nengone always precedes the Noun and is always accompanied by a Determiner.

e.g. **sa kore rɛtɔk**
One Chief.

The Numerals of Nengone are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | **sa** |
| 2 | **rewe** |
| 3 | **tini** |
| 4 | **ɛče** |
| 5 | **sɛduŋ** |
| 6 | **sɛduŋ ne sa** |
| 7 | **sɛduŋ ne rew** |
| 8 | **sɛduŋ ne tin** |
| 9 | **sɛduŋ ne ɛč** |
| 10 | **rue tubenin** |
| 11 | **rue tubenin ne sa** |
| 12 | **rue tubenin ne rew** |
| 13 | **rue tubenin ne tin** |
| 14 | **rue tubenin ne ɛč** |
| 15 | **rue tubenin ne sɛduŋ yawe** |

16 rue tubenin ne sa yawe
17 rue tubenin ne rew yawe
18 rue tubenin ne tini yawe
19 rue tubenin ne ɛče yawe
20 sa reŋɔm
30 sa reŋɔm ne rue tubenin yawe
40 rewe reŋɔm
50 rewe reŋɔm ne rue tubenin yawe
60 tini reŋɔm
70 tini re ŋɔm ne rue tubenin yawe
80 ɛče re ŋɔm
90 ɛče re ŋɔm ne rue tubenin yawe
100 sɛduŋ re ŋɔm
200 rue duŋ re ŋɔm
300 tini reduŋ re ŋɔm
400 ɛče re duŋ ŋɔm
500 sɛduŋ reduŋ re ŋɔm
1000 rue tubenin re duŋ re ŋɔm *or* sa re rue
5000 seduŋ re rue

When the number exceeds four or five, the article **vara** is used.

e.g. **ade ŋɔm vara rewe reŋɔm**
The forty men.

This usage corresponds to the use of **lae** in Dehu (Lifou).

Ordinal numbers are formed by adding **on** to the Numeral. When an Ordinal Number occurs, it follows the same construction as the Modifier tagmeme.

e.g. **ɔre ran me tɛnon**
The day third.
(The third day.)

### 3.1.2.2.1.1.1.1.2. ±PostDet ⟨Poss / Dem⟩, the Post-Determiner tagmeme

(a) *POSSESSION*

In Nengone Possession may be expressed in several ways.

(1) When the Possessor is Pronominal, the Possession takes the form:

**+N +ni +Pn**

e.g. **ŋa ni bo** **hawɔ ni buič**
Mother your. Head their.

However, with First Person singular, dual and plural, when the possessed item is a part of the body or some term expressing kinship, the following system is adopted:

**hawɔgo** my head
**waninegɔ** my hand
**čɛčeŋij** our father.

Thus in these two cases, in the singular the affix is **-go** (**yago, yɛgo** if the stem ends in a vowel)[1], and in the plural the Personal Pronoun is affixed directly to the stem without the use of **ni** which is obligatory with other Pronominal Possessors.

It should be noted that kinship terms in isolation are always possessed, the Possessor being third person impersonal.

e.g. **čɛčɛn** father (his)
**ŋayɛn** mother (her)
The **-n** here indicates possession.

When such terms/items are possessed by any person apart from first person singular and plural, they retain their impersonal possession but are possessed again by the person in question. Thus a double possession is set up for family relation terms.

e.g. **čɛčɛn** father (in fact - his father) *but*
**čɛčenibɔn** his father.

Thus both **-n** and **ni** occur with the same possessed item.

When items apart from kinship terms are possessed either by a first person singular or first person plural Possessor, the **ni**, obligatory for all other persons, is omitted.

Thus: **ɛte inu** my stone, *but* **ɛte ni bɔn** his stone.

(2) When the Possessor is a Common Noun, possession is indicated thus:

**+N +nɔre +N**

e.g. **melei kore pɛŋɛn nɔre či lae ia**
This is the way of (the) fishing.

When kinship terms are involved, the double possession indicated above is retained.

e.g. **čɛčɛn nɔre rɛtɔk**
The father of the Chief.

(b) *DEMONSTRATIVES*

The Demonstrative Article always follows the Noun Head thus:

**pailai ɔm** this dog
**ɛte ɔm** this stone.

The Demonstrative Article is **ɔm**.

---

[1] **hawɔgo** is exceptional in this respect.

**Example of Common Noun$_{CountNoun}$ Phrase**

**MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA:**

**+S[[ComN$_{CSg}$Phr(+Det +NH[CommN$_{CSg}$])]]**

| | |
|---|---|
| kore | rɛtɔk |
| the | Chief |

**EXPANDED MAXIMUM FORMULA:**

**CommN$_{CSg}$Phr[±Num +Det +NH ±Poss ±Dem ±Mod]**

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| sa | kore | wa'i | ni | bɔn | ɔm | me wa'am |
| One | the | fish | of | him | here | small. |

(His one small fish here...)

### 3.1.2.2.1.1.1.2. CommN$_{CPl}$-Phr, Common Noun$_{CountNounPlural}$ Phrase

The Common Noun$_{CountNounPlural}$ Phrase has the following minimum Nucleus and expanded maximum structure formulae:

**MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA:**

**CommN$_{CNPl}$Phr[[+Det** **DefArt / Num / IndefArt** **+NH[+CommN$_{CNPl}$]]]**

***Fillers:*** The Common Noun$_{CountNounPlural}$ Phrase has a minimum Nucleus structure of an obligatory Determiner slot filled by either the definite article, a numeral or the indefinite article.

*Definite Article:* kore ta
*Numeral:* rewe
*Indefinite Article:* ẹna group of animals; ṇe group of plants etc.; nodei all.

***EXAMPLES:***

**+S[CommN$_{CNPl}$Phr(+Det +NH(CommN$_{CNPl}$)]**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| The stones | | kore ta | ɛtɛ |
| One hour | sa | kore | kačɛn |

**EXPANDED MAXIMUM FORMULA:**

**CommN$_{CNPl}$Phr[±Num +Det +NH ±Poss ±Dem ±Mod]**

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ṛewe | kore | wa'i | ni | bɔn | ɔm | me ṃa |
| Two | the | fish | of | him | here | big. |

(His two fish here are big.)

It should be noted that when numerals exceed the number five (5), then French and sometimes English numerals are used as on Lifou (Dehu).

### 3.1.2.2.1.1.1.a. $\text{CommonN}_{\text{MassN}}$-Phr, the Common $\text{Noun}_{\text{MassNoun}}$ Phrase

The Common $\text{Noun}_{\text{MassNoun}}$ Phrase has the following minimum Nucleus and expanded maximum structure formulae:

**MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA:**

$$\text{CommN}_{\text{MassN}}\text{Phr}[+\text{Det}\langle\text{DefArt}\rangle\ +\text{NH}\langle\text{CommN}_{\text{MassN}}\rangle]$$

*Fillers:* The Common $\text{Noun}_{\text{MassNoun}}$ Phrase has a minimum Nucleus structure composed of an obligatory Nucleus Determiner slot filled only by the Definite Article, plus a Noun Head.

*Definite Article:* kore, e.g. kore tini
the water.

**MAXIMUM EXPANDED FORMULA:**

$$\text{CommN}_{\text{MassN}}\text{Phr}[+\text{Det}\ +\text{NH}\ \pm\text{Poss}\ \pm\text{Dem}]$$

kore tini ni bɔn ɔm
The water of him here.
(His water here.)

### 3.1.2.2.1.a. Optional Satellite tagmemes of the Common $\text{Noun}_{\text{Noun}}$ Phrase

#### 3.1.2.2.1.a.1. ±PostDet, the Optional Satellite Post-Determiner tagmeme

$$\pm\text{PostDet}[\text{PostDetPhr}\langle+\text{PostDet}\rangle]$$

*Fillers:* The optional Satellite Post-Determiner slot is filled by a Post-Determiner Phrase composed of an obligatory Nucleus Post-Determiner.

*Post-Determiners:* (a) ɔm (Demonstrative)
(b) Possessive forms.

*NOTE:* Analysis of the Post-Determiner tagmeme has been made above, pp. 55 etc., in conjunction with the ordinary Determiner tagmeme.

**3.1.2.2.1.a.2. ±Mod⟨AdjPhr / AdjV-Phr⟩, the Optional Satellite Modifier tagmeme**

The optional Satellite Modifier slot is filled by a composite filler class including the subclasses Adjective Phrase and Adjective Verb Phrase.

The subclass Adjective Phrase has the following structure formula:

**3.1.2.2.1.a.2.1. AdjPhr[+Intr<me> +Adj ±Mod Comp / Super ]**

*Fillers:* The alternate distribution-subclass Adjective Phrase is composed of an optional Satellite modifier slot filled by the Comparative or the Superlative, and an obligatory Nucleus Adjective Introducer plus Adjective.

The Adjective Introducer is me.

e.g. **$Comm N_{CNSg}$Phr[+Det +NH ±Mod(+Intr +Adj)]**

kore pailai me ŋa
The dog big.

The Superlative is formed by the addition of nidi (very) to the Adjective.

e.g. kore pailai me nidi ŋa.
The biggest dog.

The Comparative consists of the Superlative, with the addition of ri pɔn (than) plus the next Noun. However, Comparative and Superlative forms of Adjectives are but rarely used in Nengone (Maré).

If the Adjective precedes the Noun head, an Identificational Clause is formed. See above for analysis of this Clause Type.

**3.1.2.2.1.a.2.2. $Adj_V$Phr[+Intr<me> +VPhr] ±NH**

*Fillers:* The alternate distribution-subclass Adjective Verb Phrase is composed of an optional Satellite Modifier slot filled by an Adjective Introducer plus a Verb Phrase. The Adjective Introducer is me.

The Verb Phrase may be any Verb Phrase discussed above.

***EXAMPLE:***

**$Comm N_{CNSg}$Phr[+Det +NH ±$Adj_V$Phr(+Intr +VH)]**

kore čɛnew me ridi bɔn
The girl (who) hits him.

### 3.1.2.2.1.a.2.3. LAdv-Phr, the Location Adverb Phrase distribution-subclass

The distribution-subclass Location Adverb Phrase has the following structure formula:

**AdvPhr[+LAdv]**

*Filler:* The distribution-subclass Location Adverb Phrase slot is composed of an obligatory Nucleus Location Adverb.

*Location Adverb:* **ome, hadu**
here, down there

***EXAMPLE:***

**$CommN_{CNSg}$Phr[[ +Det +NH ±PostMod[LAdvPhr(LAdv)] ]]**

| kore | pailai | hadu |
|---|---|---|
| The | dog | down there. |

### 3.1.2.2.1.a.2.4. LRelAx-Phr, the Location Relator Axis Phrase distribution-subclass

The distribution-subclass Location Relator Axis Phrase has the following structure formula:

**LRelAxPhr[[ +LPrep +H[o-x] ]]**

*Fillers:* The distribution-subclass Locational Relator Axis Phrase is composed of an obligatory Nucleus Location Preposition or prepositional expression and an obligatory Nucleus head slot filled by an Object expression.

***EXAMPLES:***

**$CommN_{CNSg}$Phr[[ +Det +NH ±PostModLRelAxPhr[+Prep +H(N-Phr)] ]]**

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| kore | pailai | ri tɛn | ɔre | mma |
| The | dog | under | the | house; |
| | | ri pɔn | ɔre | mma |
| | | on | the | house; |
| | | ri ačɛnon | ɔre | sɛrei |
| | | near | the | tree. |

### 3.1.2.2.1.a.2.5. TimeN-Phr, the distribution-subclass Time Noun Phrase

The distribution-subclass Time Noun Phrase has the following structure formula:

**N-PhrTime[[ +Prep +NH[TimeNoun] ]]**

*FILLERS:* The distribution-subclass Time Noun Phrase is composed of an obligatory Nucleus preposition and an obligatory Nucleus head slot filled by a Time Noun.

*Time Noun:* nodei ran.

***EXAMPLE:***

**$Comm N_{CNSg}$ Phr[±TimeNPhr(+Prep +NH) +Det +NH]**

| ri | nodei | ran | kore | rɛtɔk |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| In | all | days | the | Chief... |
| (Every day the Chief...) | | | | |

### 3.1.2.2.1.a.2.6. Ap-Phr, the Appositive Phrase distribution-subclass

The distribution-subclass Appositive Phrase has the following structure formula:

**Ap-Phr[N-Phr]**

***Fillers:*** The distribution-subclass Appositive Phrase slot is filled by a Noun Phrase which has the same referent as the modified Noun head.

***EXAMPLE:***

**$Comm N_{CNSg}$ Phr[[ +Det +NH[$Comm N_{CNSg}$] ±PostModAp-Phr[N-Phr] ]]**

| kore | koe | kore | wɛge |
|---|---|---|---|
| The | boat | the | raft... |

### 3.1.2.2.1.a.2.7. DepCl ⟨ DepSjCl / DepNonSCl / XDepCl ⟩, the distribution-subclass Dependent Clause

The distribution-subclass Dependent Clause includes three division-subclasses: Dependent Subject Clause, Dependent Non-Subject Clause, Extra Dependent Clause.

For an analysis of these Clauses, see above, Clause Level Analysis.

***EXAMPLES:***

**$Comm N_{CNSg}$ Phr[+Det +NH($Comm N_{CNSg}$) ±PostMod(DepSjCl)]**

| ɔre | ŋɔm | či | nɛčɛn |
|---|---|---|---|
| The | man | who | directs... |

**$Comm N_{CNSg}$ Phr[+Det +NH($Comm N_{CNSg}$) ±PostMod(DepNonSjCl)]**

| ɔre | ɱɛnew | buič | či | ule |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| The | woman | they | | see... |

**$Comm N_{CNSg}$ Phr[+Det +NH($Comm N_{CNSg}$) ±PostMod(XDepCl)]**

| ɔre | ran | | bɔne | či | θaɛt |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The | time | when | he | | sleeps. |

### 3.1.2.2.1.1.2. $PropN_n$-Phr $\left\langle \begin{matrix} PersPropN_n\text{-Phr} \\ NonPersPropN_n\text{-Phr} \end{matrix} \right\rangle$, the Proper $Noun_{Noun}$ Phrase

The Proper $Noun_{Noun}$ Phrase division-subclass includes two co-occurrence-subclasses: Personal Proper $Noun_{Noun}$ Phrase, Non-personal Proper $Noun_{Noun}$ Phrase.

#### 3.1.2.2.1.1.2.1. $PersPropN_n$-Phr, the Personal Proper $Noun_{Noun}$ Phrase subclass

The Personal Proper $Noun_{Noun}$ Phrase has the following minimum Nucleus and maximum expanded formulae:

**MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA:**

**$PersPropN_nPhr$[±Title +$PersPropN_n$]**

*Fillers:* The Personal Proper $Noun_{Noun}$ Phrase has the minimum Nucleus structure composed of an optional Nucleus title and an obligatory Nucleus Personal Proper $Noun_{Noun}$ stem.

*Titles:* moŋa elder; rɛtɔk Chief.

***EXAMPLE:***

+S[[ **$PersPropN_nPhr$[±Title +$PersPropN_n$]** ]]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | moŋa | Alan |
| kore | rɛtɔk | Sinewami |

**EXPANDED MAXIMUM FORMULA:**

**$PersPropN_nPhr$[+Det +NH ±Mod]**

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| kore | moŋa | Alan | me | roi |
| The | elder | Alan | | good. |

The Personal Proper $Noun_{Noun}$ Phrase is rather unproductive. For this reason, maximum expansion is impracticable and artificial.

#### 3.1.2.2.1.1.2.2. $NonPersPropN_n$-Phr, the Non-personal Proper Noun subclass

The Non-personal Proper $Noun_{Noun}$ Phrase has the following minimum Nucleus and maximum expanded formulae:

**MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA:**

**$NonPersPropN_nPhr[+NonPersPropN_n]$**

***Filler:*** The Non-personal Proper $Noun_{Noun}$ Phrase has a minimum Nucleus structure composed of an obligatory Nucleus Non-personal Proper $Noun_{Noun}$ stem.

*$NonPersPropN_n$:* dipu nɛŋone eal
Lifou Maré Ouvéa.

***EXAMPLE:***

**+S[[ $NonPersPropN_nPhr[+NonPersPropN_n]$ ]]**

dipu me nidi ŋa
Lifou is very big.

This construction is explained in the Phrase Level Analysis above, p. 59.

The minimum and maximum formulae for Non-personal Proper $Noun_{Noun}$ Phrases are identical. Thus, no expanded maximum formula is necessary.

### 3.1.2.2.1.2. $N_{Adj}$-Phr, the subclass Nominalised Adjective Phrase

The nominalised Adjective Phrase has the following structure formula:

**$N_{Adj}Phr[[+Det\ +NH[AdjPhr(+Adj)]]]$**

***Fillers:*** The subclass Nominalised Adjective Phrase is composed of an obligatory Nucleus Determiner slot plus an obligatory Nucleus Noun head slot filled by an Adjective.

***NOTE:*** The simple introduction of a Determiner renders the nominalisation.

***EXAMPLES:***

**$N_{Adj}Phr[[+Det\ +NH[AdjPhr(+Adj)]]]$**

kore ɣada
The white (man).

kore tač
The tough (man).

This construction has a much wider distribution in Nengone (Maré) than in Dehu, where almost exclusively adjectives of colour are nominalised.

### 3.1.2.2.1.3. The Nominalised Verb Phrase subclass

The Nominalised Verb Phrase subclass has the following structure formula:

$$N_V\text{Phr}[[\ +\text{Det}(\text{DefArt})+\text{NH}[\text{V-Phr}(\text{ImpersVb})]\ ]]$$

***Fillers:*** The subclass Nominalised Verb Phrase is composed of an obligatory Nucleus Determiner slot and an obligatory Nucleus Noun head slot filled by a Verb Phrase in any tense.

***NOTE:*** This construction occurs most frequently with **+O** (the Direct Object tagmeme).

***EXAMPLES:***

$N_V$**Phr**[[ **+Det +NH**[**V-Phr**(**ImpersVb**)] ]]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| kore | ŋa | vapɛŋ |
| The | | labour (of the field) |
| kore | čo | vapɛŋ |
| The | | labour (future). |

The maximal expansions of these phrases are identical with maximum expansions for Transitive and Intransitive Declarative verbs.

### 3.1.2.2.2. Pn-Phr $\left\langle \begin{matrix} \text{PersSPnPhr} \\ \text{IndetPnPhr} \\ \text{PossPronPhr} \end{matrix} \right\rangle$, the distribution-subclass Pronoun Phrase

The distribution-subclass Pronoun Phrase includes three alternate division-subclasses: Personal Subject Pronoun Phrase, Indeterminate Pronoun Phrase, and Possessive Pronoun Phrase.

#### 3.1.2.2.2.1. PersSPnPhr, the division-subclass Personal Subject Pronoun Phrase

The division-subclass Personal Subject Pronoun Phrase has the following structure formula:

$$\text{PersSPnPhr}[\text{PersSPn}]$$

***Filler:*** The Personal Subject Pronoun Phrase is composed of a Personal Subject Pronoun stem.

*PERSONAL PRONOUN SUBJECT:*

| | | *Normal* | *Respectful* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Singular* | 1. | inu | inuŋo |
| | 2. | bo, eŋe | bua, buaŋo |
| | 3. | bɔn<br>nubɔn (formal)<br>ič (trivial) | bɔnɛŋo<br>nubɔnɛŋo |
| *Dual* | 1. | eŋe (excl.)<br>eθew (incl.) | eŋɛŋo<br>eθewɛŋo |
| | 2. | ŋɛŋo | buŋɛŋo |
| | 3. | bušew (trivial)<br>bušɛŋon | bušɛŋonɛŋo |
| *Plural* | 1. | eŋiǰ (excl.)<br>ɛǰe (incl.) | eŋiǰɛŋo<br>eǰɛŋo |
| | 2. | buŋiǰ | buŋiǰɛŋo |
| | 3. | buič | buičɛŋo |

***NOTE:*** (a) When a vowel precedes the First Person Dual or Plural exclusive and inclusive, a euphonic /**v**/ is inserted.
e.g. du **vɛŋiǰ** to us; du **veŋe** to us two.

(b) The Emphatic Pronoun: **PersSPn** + odin.

### 3.1.2.2.2.2. IndetPn-Phr, the subdivision Indeterminate Pronoun Phrase

The division-subclass Indeterminate Pronoun Phrase has the following structure formula:

**IndetPnPhr[IndetPn]**

***Filler:*** The Indeterminate Pronoun Phrase is filled by an obligatory Nucleus Indeterminate Pronoun.

*Indeterminate Pronoun:* **kosotɛn, osotɛn** - some.

***EXAMPLE:*** **IndetPnPhr[+IndetPn]**
**kosotɛn či numa**
Some laugh.

### 3.1.2.2.2.3. PossPn-Phr, the subclass Possessive Pronoun Phrase

The division-subclass Possessive Pronoun Phrase has the following structure formula:

$$\textbf{PossPnPhr}[[\ +\textbf{NH}[\textbf{CommN}_{\textbf{CN}}]\ +\textbf{PossInt}\ +\textbf{PersPn}]]$$

The analysis of the Possessive Pronoun Phrase has already been made under Noun Phrase above.

### 3.1.2.2.3. RelAx-Phr, the distribution-subclass Relator Axis Phrase

The distribution-subclass Relator Axis Phrase has the following structure formula:

$$\textbf{RelAxPhr}[+\textbf{Prep}\langle \text{ẉan}\rangle\ +\textbf{NH}\ +\textbf{Prep}\langle \text{ča pinà}\rangle\ +\textbf{NH}_2]$$

*Fillers:* The Relator Axis Phrase is comprised of an obligatory Preposition (Directional), an obligatory Nucleus Noun head, a second obligatory Nucleus Preposition and a second obligatory Nucleus Noun head.

e.g. ẉane koda ča pina ri ran ɔm
From then until now.

### 3.1.3. Obligatory Nucleus Direct Object tagmeme

The Direct Object tagmeme, obligatory and Nucleus to the Active Transitive Clause Types 2 and 3, has the functional meaning of undergoer of the action of the Transitive Predicate.

In the Clause Types in question, the obligatory Nucleus Direct Object slot is filled by a composite filler class, whose components are as follows:

*Formula:* +DO ⟨ N-Phr / Pn-Phr / RefPn-Phr / V-Phr / XDepCl ⟩ , the Direct Object tagmeme.

*Fillers:* The obligatory Nucleus Direct Object slot is filled by a composite filler class with a maximum of five: Noun Phrase, Personal Pronoun Phrase, Reflexive Pronoun Phrase, Verb Phrase, Dependent Clause.

### 3.1.3.1. N-Phr, the distribution-subclass Noun Phrase

For the analysis of Noun Phrases see above, under Subject tagmeme.

***EXAMPLES:***

| +S[PersPn] | +Pr[ActTrSgDecV-Phr] | +DO[$CommN_{CNSg}$Phr] |
|---|---|---|
| ẹŋiǰ | či nue but | ɔre koe |
| We | leave | the boat. |
| ɛǰe | či yose | ɔre guhɛl |
| We | take | the knife; |
| | | [$CommN_{Mass}$Phr] |
| | | ɔre tin |
| | | water; |
| | | [$N_{Adj}$Phr] |
| | | ɔre gada |
| | | the white man. |

### 3.1.3.2. Personal Pronoun Phrase, Pn-Phr

The Personal Object Pronoun Phrase has the following structure formula:

**PersObjPnPhr[+PersObjPn]**

The Personal Object Pronoun Phrase is composed of an obligatory Nucleus Personal Object Pronoun.

***NOTE:*** The Personal Object Pronouns are the same as the Pronouns Subject, with the exception of the first person singular **inu**, which is contracted to **nu** when used as an Object.

***EXAMPLES:***

| | |
|---|---|
| inu čo ridi bɔn | bɔne čo ridi nu |
| I shall hit him. | He will hit me. |

### 3.1.3.3. Reflexive Pronoun Phrase

The Reflexive Pronoun Phrase has the following structure formula:

**ReflPnPhr[+PersObjPn +ko]**

The Reflexive Pronoun Phrase is composed of an obligatory Nucleus Personal Pronoun, plus an obligatory Nucleus Reflexive particle **ko**.

***EXAMPLES:***

inu čo ridi nuko
+S +Pr +DO[ReflPnPhr(+Pn +ko)]
I shall hit myself.

### 3.1.3.4. V-Phr, the distribution-subclass Verb Phrase

The Verb Phrase has the following structure formula:

+DO[$N_V$Phr(+Det +NH[ImpersVb])]

*Fillers:* The division-subclass Verb Phrase is composed of a Determiner slot, filled by the Definite Article and an obligatory Nucleus Noun head filled by a Verb Phrase composed of any Active Predicate.

*EXAMPLE:*

+S[PersPnSj] +Pr[ActTrSgVPhr] +DO[VPhr(+Det +VH)]
bɔne či ule ɔre ŋa vapɛŋ
He sees the labour.

### 3.1.3.5. XDepCl[DepDeclCl], the distribution-subclass Dependent Clause

For an analysis of Dependent Clauses, see above, Clause Level Analysis.

*EXAMPLES:*

+S[PersPnSj] +Pr[ActTrDecVPhr] +DO[XDepCl]
buič či ɛtɔn wɛnɔre bɔne ha sič
They ask why he fled.

Dependent Subject and Non-subject Dependent Clauses are not found in the Direct Object slot, being always replaced by a nominalised expression.

*NOTE:* With verbs of saying, the particle ko normally precedes what is said. This corresponds to the Dehu ka hape.
e.g. bɔne či ye ko buič kore tač
He says they are strong.

### 3.1.4. +IO, the Obligatory Nucleus Indirect Object tagmeme

The Indirect Object tagmeme, which is obligatory and Nucleus to the Active and Passive Double Transitive Clause Types 3 and 5, has the functional meaning of "that to or for which the action is performed".

The obligatory Nucleus Indirect Object tagmeme has the following formula:

$$+IO\left\langle \begin{matrix} \text{N-Phr} \\ \text{Pn-Phr} \end{matrix} \right\rangle$$

*Fillers:* The obligatory Nucleus Indirect Object slot is filled by a composite filler class consisting of Noun Phrase, Pronoun Phrase.

### 3.1.4.1. N-Phr, the distribution-subclass Noun Phrase

For analysis, see above, Analysis of Obligatory Nucleus Subject tagmemes.

*EXAMPLES:*

| +S[PersPnSj] | +Pr[ActDbTrDecVPhr] | +IO[$CommN_{CNSg}$Phr] |
|---|---|---|
| inu | či sibo | rɛtɔk |
| I | ask | the Chief |

| +DO[$CommN_{CNSg}$Phr] | |
|---|---|
| ɔre | koe |
| (for) the | boat. |

*NOTE:* Only Common $Noun_{Count}Noun$ Phrases may fill the Indirect Object slot.

### 3.1.4.2. Pn-Phr<PersPn-Phr>, the distribution-subclass Pronoun Phrase[1]

*EXAMPLES:*

| +S[PersPnSj] | +Pr[ActDbV-Phr] | +IO[PersPnPhr] | +DO |
|---|---|---|---|
| inu | čo kano | buič | ɔre tusi |
| I | shall give | them | the book. |

### 3.1.5. +EqCo, the Obligatory Nucleus Equational Complement

The Equational Complement, obligatory and Nucleus to Equation Clause Type 6, has the meaning of "characteristics of identification or equation".

The obligatory Nucleus Equational Complement has the following formula:

$$+EqCo\left\langle \begin{matrix} \text{NPhr} \\ \text{PnPhr} \\ N_{Adj}\text{Phr} \end{matrix} \right\rangle, \text{ the Equational Complement.}$$

[1] The Indeterminate Pronoun does not occur in this slot.

*Fillers:* The obligatory Nucleus slot is filled by a composite filler class including Noun Phrase, Pronoun Phrase and Nominalised Adjective Phrase. Nominalised verbal expressions are excluded.

### 3.1.5.1. N-Phr, the distribution-subclass Noun Phrase

For analysis, see above.

*EXAMPLES:*

| +S[$CommN_{CNSg}$] | +EqCo [$CommN_{CNSg}$Phr] | |
|---|---|---|
| ɔre sɛrei | ɔmɛlei | nu |
| Tree | this is | a coconut tree. |

### 3.1.5.2. $N_{Adj}$-Phr, the distribution-subclass Nominalised Adjective Phrase

*EXAMPLE:*

| +S[$CommN_{CNSg}$] | +EqCo[$N_{Adj}$Phr] | |
|---|---|---|
| ɔre ŋɔm | ɔm | gada |
| Man | this is | a white man. |

### 3.1.5.3. Pn-Phr, the distribution-subclass Pronoun Phrase

*EXAMPLE:*

| +S[$CommN_{CNSg}$] | +EqCo[Pn-Phr] | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ɔre moŋa | | bɔne | hadu |
| The elder is | | him | down there. |

### 3.1.6. +StCo, the Obligatory Nucleus Stative Complement tagmeme

The Stative Complement tagmeme, Nucleus and obligatory to the Stative Clause Type 8 occupies the slot immediately following the Predicate.

The Stative Complement has the functional meaning of "that which is stated or enumerated", and has the following formula:

$$+StCo\left\langle \begin{matrix} N\text{-}Phr \\ Pn\text{-}Phr \end{matrix} \right\rangle, \text{ the Stative Complement.}$$

*Fillers:* The obligatory Nucleus Stative Complement slot is filled by a composite filler class including two subclasses: Noun Phrase and Pronoun Phrase.

### 3.1.6.1. N-Phr, the distribution-subclass Noun Phrase

See above for analysis of Noun Phrase.

*EXAMPLES:*

| +StatPr | +StCo[CommN$_{CNSg}$Phr] | |
|---|---|---|
| ome | kore | wabubun |
| Here is | the | end; |
| | [CommN$_{Mass}$Phr] | |
| | | tin |
| | | water; |
| | [PersPropN$_{n}$Phr] | |
| | | Sinewami (name); |
| | [N$_{V}$Phr] | |
| | | ŋa vapɛŋ |
| | | labour. |

### 3.1.6.2. Pn-Phr⟨PersPn / IndetPn⟩, the distribution-subclass Pronoun Phrase

For analysis see above.

*EXAMPLE:*

| +StatPr | +StatCo[PersPnSj] |
|---|---|
| ome | buič |
| There are | they. |

### 3.1.7. +IdS, the Obligatory Nucleus Identificational Subject tagmeme

The Identificational Subject tagmeme, Nucleus and obligatory to the Identificational Clause Type 7 may precede or follow the Predicate, depending on which of the two Clause constructions are used.

The Identificational Subject tagmeme has the functional meaning of "that which is identified". It has the following formula:

+IdS⟨N-Phr / Pn-Phr⟩, the Identificational Subject.

Both the Noun and Pronoun Phrase have been analysed above.

*EXAMPLES:*

+IdPr +IdS[CommN$_{CNSg}$Phr]
nese kore wakoko
Dry are the yams.

*or*

+IdS +IdPr
ɔre mma me wa'am
The house is small.

For analysis of the Identificational Clause, see above, Clause Level Analysis.

### 3.1.8. +Ag, the Obligatory Nucleus Agentive tagmeme

The obligatory Nucleus Agentive tagmeme, occurring with Passive Single and Double Clause Types 4 and 5, occurs always after the Predicate. It has the functional meaning of "by whom/which the action was performed".

The obligatory Nucleus Agentive tagmeme has the following structure formula:

**+Ag[+AgInt +Ag], the Agentive tagmeme.**

The Agentive tagmeme is composed of an Agent Introducer ŋei / ŋɛn ɔre, plus an Agent.

$$+Ag\left\langle \begin{matrix} \text{N-Phr} \\ \text{Pn-Phr} \end{matrix} \right\rangle, \text{ the Agent.}$$

Both the Noun Phrase and Pronoun Phrase have been analysed above.

With the Agent Introducer, there are two possibilities:

(a) ŋei + NH
(b) ŋɛn ɔre + NH

Thus either the short form (a) is used with Pronoun Agents or with Noun Agents without the use of the Definite Article Determiner or, with Common Nouns, (b) is used with a Determiner.

***EXAMPLES:***

bɔn ha ŋa taŋo ŋɛn ɔre rɛtɔk
He was killed by the Chief.

*or* bɔn ha ŋa taŋo ŋei rɛtɔk
He was killed by the Chief.

bɔn ha ŋa taŋo ŋei buič
He was killed by them.

With Pronoun Agents, only form (a) may be used.

*NOTE:* With First Person Singular Pronominal Agents, nei + Pn ———— ŋɛgu, not ŋei inu. This corresponds to the Dehu ŋɛŋ, and precedes the Predicate in the same way as Dehu.

### 3.2. Optional Satellite Clause Level tagmemes

The expansion of the basic Nucleus of the eight Clause Types includes ten optional Satellite Clause Level tagmemes. The ten tagmemes may be divided into two Classes:

(1) The Class of optional Satellite Complementary tagmemes: Indirect Object, Accompaniment, Benefactor, and Instrument.

(2) The Class of optional Satellite Circumstantial tagmemes: Time, Frequency, Locational-Directional, Purpose, Manner, Cause.

#### 3.2.1. ±IO, the Optional Satellite Indirect Object tagmeme

The optional Satellite Indirect Object tagmeme, quite different from that occurring obligatorily with the Active and Passive Double Transitive Clause Types 3 and 5, occurs sometimes with the Active and Passive Single Transitive Clause Types 2 and 4. It has the following structure formula:

±IO[[ IORelAxPhr[+Prep<du> +H<O-X>] ]]

*Fillers:* The optional Satellite Indirect Object slot is filled by an Indirect Object Relator Axis Phrase composed of an obligatory Nucleus Preposition du and an obligatory Nucleus head slot filled by an Object expression.

*Place:* The Indirect Object tagmeme is found normally after the Direct Object tagmeme.

*EXAMPLE:*

| +S[PersPnSj] | +Pr[ActTrSgDecV-Phr] | +DO[N-Phr] | ±IO[RelAxPhr] |
|---|---|---|---|
| bɔne | či kanon | ɔre koe | du buič |
| He | gives | the boat | to them. |

*NOTE:* With Common Nouns as Indirect Object, du + N may become ǰewɔre + N with idea of movement.

#### 3.2.2. ±Acc, the Optional Satellite Accompaniment tagmeme

The optional Satellite Accompaniment tagmeme occurs with all Clause Types, but occurs most frequently with Active

Intransitive Clauses.

It has the following structure formula:

±Acc[[ AccRelAxPhr[+Prep<ne(ilɔre)> +H<0-X>] ]]

*Fillers:* The optional Satellite Accompaniment slot is filled by an Accompaniment Relator Axis Phrase composed of an obligatory Nucleus Preposition ne and an obligatory Nucleus head slot filled by an Object expression preceded by the Determiner ilɔre.

*Place:* The optional Satellite Accompaniment tagmeme occurs normally after the Predicate tagmeme.

***EXAMPLE:***

| +S[PersPn] | +Pr[ActIntrDecV-Phr] | ±Acc[[ AccRelAxPhr[+Prep<ne> |
|---|---|---|
| bɔne | či lɛŋ | ne |
| He | goes | with |

| ±ilɔre +H<0-X>] ]] | |
|---|---|
| ilɔre | čɛnew |
| the | girls. |

***NOTE:*** When the Accompaniment is done by a Pronominal Subject, then the Determiner ilɔre is omitted.

### 3.2.3. ±Ben, the Optional Satellite Benefactive tagmeme

The optional Satellite Benefactive tagmeme may occur with any Clause Type, although it tends to occur most regularly with Transitive Clause Types.

It has the following structure formula:

±Ben[[ BenRelAxPhr[+Prep bane so / so +H<0-X>] ]]

*Fillers:* The optional Satellite Benefactive slot is filled by a Benefactive Relator Axis Phrase, normally, composed of an obligatory Nucleus Preposition bane so/so and an obligatory Nucleus head slot filled by an Object expression.

*Place:* The optional Satellite Benefactive tagmeme occurs after the Predicate and Direct Object tagmemes.

The Benefactive tagmeme may be divided into three categories:

(a) The normal Benefactive is expressed by either so + Pronoun or sɔn ɔre + Noun.

***EXAMPLES:***

| inu | ŋa θudul | ɔre wɛge | so bɔn |
|---|---|---|---|
| +S | +Pr | +DO | ±Ben |
| I | transported | the raft | for him. |

inu či čɛŋo kaka sɔn ɔre pailai
+S +Pr +DO ±Ben
I seek food for the dog.

(b) The stronger or emphatic Benefactive is expressed by either bane so + Pronoun or bane sɔn ɔre + Noun.

***EXAMPLES:***

inu čo ruaban ɔre mma bane so bɔn
+S +Pr +DO ±Ben
I shall clean the house for her.

inu či čɛŋo gura'ač bane sɔn ɔre gučɛŋo
+S +Pr +DO ±Ben
I seek a string for my bag.

(c) With really personal items such as yams (to be eaten), bags, water, etc., a third type of Benefactive appears. This consists of the placing of the Personal Pronoun before the Direct Object. It applies only where the Benefactive is Pronominal.

***EXAMPLES:***

bo či zɛčo inu koe
+S +Pr ±Ben +DO
You make for me a boat.

bo čo lae inu tin
+S +Pr ±Ben +DO
You fetch for me water.

### 3.2.4. ±Inst, the Optional Satellite Instrument tagmeme

The optional Satellite Instrument tagmeme, Nucleus and obligatory with Passive Transitive Clause Types, may occur with Transitive Active Clause Types. It has the following structure formula:

±Inst[[ InstRelAxPhr[+Prep ŋei / ŋɛn ɔre +H<O-X>] ]]

***Fillers:*** The optional Satellite Instrument slot has already been analysed above, so only examples with Active Transitive Clause Types will be given here.

***Place:*** The optional Satellite Instrument tagmeme is normally placed after the Direct Object tagmeme.

***EXAMPLES:***

inu čo ridi bo ŋen ɔre gusɛrei
+S +Pr +DO ±Inst
I shall hit you with a stick.

inu čo ridi bo ŋ̣ei gugie
I shall hit you with an axe.

***NOTE:*** Elderly speakers sometimes replace ŋ̣ei / ŋ̣en by o.
e.g. ŋ̣ɛgu ŋ̣a ridi bɔn o guŋ̣u
I hit him with a club.
However this usage is never heard with any but the elderly.

### 3.2.5. ±T ⟨ TAdv-Phr / TLocution / XDepCl ⟩, the Optional Satellite Time tagmeme

The optional Satellite Time slot is filled by a composite filler class including the distribution-subclasses: Time Adverb Phrase, Time Locution Phrase, and Extra Dependent Time Clause.

(a) *TAdv-Phr, the Time Adverb Phrase*

***Place:*** The Time Adverb Phrase may be placed either before the Subject or after the Predicate tagmeme. However, the Time Adverb Phrase occurs but very rarely before the Subject. Thus the position immediately following the Predicate is normal.

***EXAMPLE:***

bɔne či al yawe
He is swimming still/again.

(b) *TLoc-Phr, the Time Locution Phrase*

***Place:*** The Time Locution Phrase (ɔnɔm, today; ɔrɔre, tomorrow) may either precede the Subject or follow the Predicate tagmeme without restriction, unlike the TAdv-Phr.

***EXAMPLE:***

inu čo kaka ɔrɔre
I shall eat tomorrow.

*or* ɔnɔm inu ha čo kaka
Today I shall eat.

(c) *XDepTCl, the Extra Dependent Time Clause*

**XDepTCl**[+**DepIntrod**(ri ran) +**IndepCl**]
(in the time)

The analysis of Extra Dependent Clause has been made above. See Clause Level Analysis.

***EXAMPLE:***

| +S[PersPnSj] | +Pr[ActIntrDecVPhr] | |
|---|---|---|
| inu či | al ri | ran bonė či θast |
| I | swim | while he sleeps. |

### 3.2.6. ±Freq, the Optional Satellite Frequency tagmeme

The optional Satellite Frequency tagmeme may occur with any of the obligatory or optional Predicate Clause Types.

It has the following structure formula:

±Freq[[ FreqRelAxPhr[+Prep<ri> +H<Time Noun>] ]]

*Fillers:* The optional Satellite Frequency slot is filled by a Frequency Relator Axis Phrase composed of an obligatory Nucleus Preposition **ri** (in) and an obligatory Nucleus head slot filled by a Time Noun.

*Place:* The optional Satellite Frequency tagmeme occurs normally after the Predicate and Direct Object tagmemes.

*EXAMPLE:*

| +S[PersPnSj] | +Pr[DecTrVPhr] | +DO[NPhr] | ±Freq[FreqRelAxPhr |
|---|---|---|---|
| inu | čo ridi | buič | ri |
| I | shall hit | them | every |

(+Prep<ri> +H<Time Noun>)]

nodei ran

day.

*NOTE:* Simple Frequentatives are not often used in Nengone being replaced by reduplicative verbs as in Dehu, or by **ča** which indicates duration. When they do occur, they take the form **ha** + Num. and are normally placed after the Predicate.

### 3.2.7. ±L⟨ LAdv-Phr / RelAx-Phr ⟩, the Optional Satellite Location-Direction tagmeme

The optional Satellite Location-Direction slot is filled by a composite filler class including two distribution-subclasses: Location Adverb Phrase and Location Relator-Axis Phrase.

(a) *LAdv-Phr, the distribution-subclass Location Adverb Phrase*

LAdv-Phr: **mazo, hazo.**

As Nengone (Maré) has an elaborate system of Directionals, they will be enumerated and explained here. There are

ten series of Directionals as follows:

1. **Vb** + lo towards me in the East
   **Vb** + lu towards me in the West
   **Vb** + but towards me in the North or South.

2. **Vb** + zo towards the East
   **Vb** + luo towards the West
   **Vb** + yo towards the North or South.

3. kuzo coming from the East
   kuluo coming from the West
   kuyo coming from the North or South.

4. hula near, in the East
   huli near, in the West
   huni near, in the North or South.

5. huzo further away, in the East
   huluo further away, in the West
   huyo further away, in the North or South.

6. mazo far away, in the East
   maduo far away, in the West
   madio far away, in the North or South.

7. mezoi very distant, in the East
   melui very distant, in the West
   meyoi very distant, in the North or South.

8. hada, mada in the East, still visible
   hadi, madi in the West, still visible
   hadi, madi in the North or South, still visible
   hado, mado up there, still visible
   hadu, madu down there, still visible.

9. hazo in the East, invisible
   haduo in the West, invisible
   hadio in the North or South, invisible.

10. helei far away down there
    heloi far away up there
    hulu very far away down there
    hulo inside.

*Place:* The Location Adverb Phrase is normally placed after the Predicate with Intransitive Clause Types and after the Direct Object with Transitive Clause Types.

***EXAMPLES:***

| +S[PersPnSj] | +Pr[DecIntrVPhr] | ±L[AdvPhr] |
|---|---|---|
| bɔne | ha lɛŋe | lu |
| He | has come | near. |

| +S[PersPnSj] | +Pr[DecTrVPhr] | +DO[NPhr] | ±L[AdvPhr] |
|---|---|---|---|
| inu | čo θɛre | ɔre rɛtɔk | mazo... |
| I | shall seek | the Chief | there... |

***NOTE:*** With increasing distance precision of the spot is necessary.

(b) *LRelAxPhr, the distribution-subclass Location Relator-Axis Phrase*

The optional Locational Relator-Axis Phrase has the following structure formula:

**LRelAxPhr[+LPrep +H<O-X>]**

The Location Relator Axis Phrase consists of an obligatory Nucleus Location Preposition (ǰewo, ǰewɔre), and an obligatory Nucleus head slot filled by an Object expression.

***Place:*** The Location Relator Axis Phrase occurs normally immediately after the Predicate, or after the Direct Object in Transitive Clause Types.

***EXAMPLES:***

| +S[PersPnSj] | +Pr[ActIntrVPhr] | ±L[RelAxPhr(+Prep +H)] |
|---|---|---|
| inu | čo hue | ǰewɔre dɔku |
| I | shall go | to the Chief. |

*but*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| inu | čo hue | ǰewo buič |
| I | shall go | to them. |
| inu | čo hue | ǰewo dipu |
| I | shall go | to Lifou. |

***NOTE:*** When the head of the Relator-Axis Phrase is a Common Noun, the Preposition is ǰewɔre, but if the head is pronominal or a place name, the Preposition is contracted to ǰewo.

### 3.2.8. ±Mann⟨MAdv-Phr / MRelAx-Phr⟩, the Optional Satellite Manner tagmeme

The optional Satellite Manner slot is filled by a

composite filler class including two distribution-subclasses: Manner Adverb Phrase, and Manner Relator Axis Phrase.

(a) *MAdv-Phr, the subclass Manner Adverb Phrase*

Adverb: roion (well).

***Place:*** The distribution-subclass Manner Adverb Phrase occurs after the Predicate tagmeme.

***EXAMPLE:***

| +S[PersPnSj] | +Pr[ActIntrDecVPhr] | | ±Mann[MAdv] |
|---|---|---|---|
| buič | či | ewan | roion |
| They | | fold it | well. |

(b) *MRelAx-Phr[+Prep +H<O-X>], the distribution-subclass Manner Relator Axis Phrase*

The Manner Relator Axis Phrase is composed of an obligatory Nucleus Manner Introducer Preposition and an obligatory Nucleus head filled by an Object expression.

***Place:*** The Manner Relator Axis Phrase occurs after the Predicate or Object tagmemes.

***EXAMPLE:***

| +S[PersPnSj] | +Pr[ActIntrVPhr] | | ±Mann[MRelAxPhr(+Prep +H)] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| buič | či | lɛŋe lu | ri | koe |
| They | | go | by | boat. |

***NOTE:*** The particle ta, placed before the Predicate, indicates Manner and Quantity.
e.g. ɛŋiǰ ta či eθa nata
We a little talk.

### 3.2.9. ±P<V-Phr>, the Optional Satellite Purpose tagmeme

The optional Satellite Purpose tagmeme may occur with almost any Clause Type, although it occurs only rarely with the optional Verbal Predicate Clause Types.

It has the following structure formula:

$$+P[\text{VPhr}\ \begin{matrix}\text{čo}\\ \text{ha θu co}\end{matrix}\ ]$$

***Fillers:*** The Purpose Verb Phrase is composed of a Purpose Verb Introducer plus a Transitive or Intransitive Predicate.

*Purpose Verb Introducers:* čo (normal)
ha θu čo (explicit) (TransVbs).

***Place:*** The Purpose Verb Phrase follows the Predicate tagmeme.

***EXAMPLES:***

(a) **+S +Pr ±P[VPhr(+Intr +VH)]**
inu či alan čo kaka
I want to eat.

(b) inu ha čo yose ɔre ta guhɛl ha θu čo čue so rɛtɔk
**+S +Pr +DO ±P[VPhr(+Int +VH)]**
I shall take the knives to take to the Chief.

***NOTE:*** With transitive Predicates the Purpose Introducer - (a) takes the form **ha θu čo**, and (b) occurs after the Direct Object tagmeme.

### 3.2.10. ±C<XDepCl>, the Optional Satellite Cause tagmeme

The optional Satellite Cause slot is filled by a Cause Extra Dependent Clause composed of an obligatory Nucleus Cause Introducer (wɛnɔre) and an obligatory Nucleus Independent Declarative Clause.

***Place:*** The distribution-subclass Extra Dependent Cause Clause occurs after the Predicate tagmeme.

***EXAMPLE:***

**+S[PersPnSj] +Pr[ActIntrVPhr] ±C[ExDepCl(+Int +InDepCl)]**
inu čo θaɛt wɛnɔre bɔne ha ridi nu
I shall lie down because he hit me.

### 3.3. Summary of tagmeme Ordering

In the maximum formula given above, the ordering of tagmemes was not rigid, as no fixed order exists. However what was given was the order of highest statistical frequency.

A brief Summary Statement of the ordering of tagmemes for all Clause Classes is as follows:

(a) *Before the Predicate:*

**+S ±T**

(b) *After the Predicate:*

**+DO ±Mann ±T ±L ±Inst ±Acc ±P ±C ±IO**

However, such a linear representation is most inadequate, first because not all the tagmemes occur in any one utterance, and secondly, because the ordering of the first four tagmemes after the Predicate may be changed at the will of the speaker with no difference in meaning.

# 4. WORD LEVEL ANALYSIS

## 4.1. Verbs

(a) The Causative form of the Verb in Nengone, as in Dehu, has the following structure:

**Kernel structure: Transitive Verb Stem**

$T_{Caus}$

---

**Causative Verb: + Prefix (a) + Verb Stem + Suffix (-ni)**

The Causative Verb is the Causative Transform, $T_{Caus}$, of a Transitive Verb Stem. It consists of an obligatory prefix **a**, an obligatory Verb Stem and an obligatory Nucleus Suffix **-ni**.

***EXAMPLE:*** **taŋo** to die
**ataŋoni** to cause to die (kill).

(b) The Accompanying form of the Verb has the following structure:

**Kernel structure: Transitive Verb Stem**

$T_{Acc}$

---

**Accompanying Verb: + Prefix (e) + Verb Stem**

The Accompanying Verb is the Accompanying Transform, $T_{Acc}$, of a Transitive Verb Stem. It consists of an obligatory prefix **e** and an obligatory Verb Stem.

***EXAMPLE:*** **talofa** to greet
**etalofa** to greet together.

This corresponds to Dehu **če**.

(c) The Reciprocal form of the Verb has the following structure:

**Kernel structure: Verb Stem**

$T_{Rec}$

---

**Reciprocal Verb: + Prefix (e) + Verb Stem + Suffix (keu)**

The Reciprocal Verb is the Reciprocal Transform, $T_{Rec}$, of a Transitive Verb Stem or Intransitive Verb Stem. It consists of an obligatory prefix **e**, an obligatory Verb Stem and an obligatory suffix **-keu**.

***EXAMPLE:*** **kɛčon** to hate
**ekɛčojeu** to hate one another.

(d) A Restricted Reciprocal Verb exists in Nengone, only two people being involved in the action:

**Kernel structure: Verb Stem**

$T_{RR}$

---

**Restricted Reciprocal Verbs: + Prefix (i) + Verb Stem**

The Restricted Reciprocal Verb is the Restricted Reciprocal Transform, $T_{RR}$, of a Transitive Verb Stem. It consists of an obligatory prefix **i** and an obligatory Verb Stem.

***EXAMPLE:*** **ule** to see
**iule** to see each other, to visit one another.

(e) Intransitive Verbs may be made Transitive under the following conditions:

(i) Verb Stems ending in **-e**, **-u**, or Consonant take the suffix **-on**, except where the following word begins with a consonant. In this case the final **-n** is omitted.

***EXAMPLES:*** **kɔdaru** to eat
**kɔdaruon** to eat something
**kɔdaruo**

(ii) Verb Stems ending in other vowels retain the final vowel of the Stem and add the suffix **-n**.
e.g. **kaka** ——— **kakan**
to eat something.

If, however, the next word begins with a vowel, the **-n** is omitted as with the Verb Stems in (i).

(f) Adjectives may become verbalised in the following way:

**Kernel structure: Adj. Stem**

$T_V$

---

**Verb Stem: + Prefix (a) + Adj. Stem + Suffix (ni)**

The Verbalised Adjective is the Verbal Transform, $T_V$, of an Adjective Stem. It consists of an obligatory prefix **a**, an obligatory Adjective Stem and an obligatory suffix **ni**.
***EXAMPLE:*** **roi** good
**aroini** to do good.

**4.2.** An Adjective may become an Adverb by the addition of **-on** to the Adjective Stem.
e.g. **roi** good
**roion** well.

**4.3.** Reduplicatives occur rarely in Verbs, but more often with Nouns or Adjectives.
e.g. θo bad
θo θo dust
θo θo θo θo to raise dust on a track.

**4.4.** Many words are composed of an affix plus free morpheme as follows:

(i) **ačа** + Noun = Proprietor of...
e.g. **ačatoto** the owner of the field.

(ii) **ada** as an affix signifies a branch or protrusion.
e.g. **adadin** fin.

(iii) **aŋa** + Noun indicates something in a bunch or in close formation.
e.g. **aŋaɛθ** bunch of bananas.

(iv) **gu** + Noun indicates a piece or section.
e.g. **sɛrei** tree
**gusɛrei** a stick.

(v) The Collective Prefix **ie** occurs often.
e.g. **hawɔ** head
**iehawɔ** hair of head.

(vi) **tube** + Noun indicates something, excluding flowers and fruit (see **aŋa**), which is tied or linked in some way.
e.g. **tubeta** the feet and the fingers
**tubečɛle** current in the sea.

(vii) **wa** + Noun either indicates that the Noun Object is small or constitutes a heap. There is no confusion here, as the first meaning is associated with living things and the second with inanimate objects.
e.g. **waṉailai** the little dog
**wakoko** heap of yams.

**4.5.** Several Nouns are formed by a combination of **ṉa** (Passive Marker) and a Verb or Common Noun.
e.g. **mɛnɛŋ** to stay
**ṉamɛnɛŋ** house;

**iei** fire
**ṉa iei** fireplace;

**kɔl** to excrete
**ṉa kɔl** excrement.

**4.6.** Nouns of Quantity are formed by the addition of the suffix **-il** to an Adjective.
e.g. **ṉa** big
**ma'il** quantity.

## Appendix

### *TEXTS* *(unelicited)*

1.

čanayon ri pɔn ɔre watoatit ri pɔni waḍuŋ ne titew #
Listen in on the story in on hawk and hen;

melei busɛŋɔn nidi rue waŋoresa #
there they very two friends;

či kɔdaru sese ne či θast sese #
eat together and sleep together;

ri se ran / ile me ha θapa kore ŋakɔkoe ni titew #
in a day then is torn the garment of hen;

ilei titew me či sibo waḍuŋ ɔre ta ač bane apuničɛni #
then hen asks hawk the things to fix;

hale waḍuŋ me kano titew ɔre dun ne ilore wakada bane
then hawk gives hen a needle and the thread to
apuničɛni ɔre ieŋaro ni bɔn #
fix the clothes of him;

hale titew me yese lo #
then hen sew then;

ile me apunič kore ieŋaro ni bɔn #
then fix the clothes of him;

sa di so kore nian ri θuba ŋa yeyɛθ #
one then only the bad in after the sewing;

ile me nara but ri gumarara kore dun #
then fell then on ground the needle;

ka waḍuŋ / ma či ule bɔn či θɛre ɔre dun / ilei
and hawk, when sees him look for the needle, then
waḍuŋ me či eto bɔn ko waŋoresa ha as kore
hawk then asks him thus: friend is finished the
yeyɛθe bua #
sewing you;

lɛŋ ti buti yawe ɔre rue neyeyɛθ inu #
render then again the two instruments me;

kei titew či čɛdi ko kolo waŋoresa / ha nara kei
the hen replies thus: alas! friend, is fallen the
dun # waḍuŋ ha čɛŋɛnia
needle; hawk is angry;

bo čo uni lu ko so nu di / ma θapa kore
you will find indeed for me then when torn the
ieŋaroyago #
my clothes;

či kewiwi kei titew ko kolo waŋoresa / ha nidi
asks pardon the hen thus: alas! friend is really
θi kore dun #
lost the needle;

ha nidi čɛŋɛnia kei waḍuŋ # ile me ia titew lo #
is very angry the hawk; then eats hen there;

ɔnɔm bušɛŋon ha nidi rue na'ɛd #
now they two are indeed two enemies;

ka deko lo či iule #
and not then see each other;

ŋei waḍuŋ ma aŋa / titew ha sič #
if hawk when presents, hen is fled;

ka ɔnɔm di titew či θɛre ko ɔre dun #
and now then hen seeks still the needle;

ŋei buŋiǰ ma ule ɔre či kini ɔre rawa / ne či
if you when see the he scrape the earth and
θɛreθɛre ɔre awa'ac / melei či θɛre ko ɔre dun ča
seeks still the leaves, then seeks still the needle
pina ri ta ran ɔnɔm #
until in the day now;

ka ha ŋa'ɛd ko ke bušɛŋon #
and are enemies still they two.

***TRANSLATION***

Listen to the story of the hawk and the hen. They were very good friends. They ate and slept together. One day, the clothes of the hen became torn. So the hen asked the

hawk for the things to repair them. So the hawk gave the hen a needle and thread to repair her clothes. The hen sewed and sewed and repaired her clothes. The unfortunate thing after the sewing was that the needle fell on the ground. And the hawk, when he saw her looking for the needle, said to her: "Friend, your sewing is finished. Please may I have my things back?" The hen answered: "Alas! friend, the needle has fallen on the ground." The hawk was angry. "You will indeed find it again for me for when my clothes are torn." The hen begged pardon. "Alas! friend, the needle is really lost." The hawk became very angry and ate the hen. Today they are indeed deadly enemies, and they cannot bear the sight of each other. If the hawk appears, the hen flees. And today the hen is still looking for the needle. If you see scrapings on the ground and peckings among the leaves, it is the hen still looking for the needle until the present day. And they are still enemies.

**2.**

**inu čo lae natan ɔre wanata ri pɔn ɔre ideu #**
I go tell story the story in on the ideu (fish);

**ri ɛziɛn me ŋadan adio i guadureŋu / kore či ane**
in time (adj) past there at Guadurehmu, the one places

**ɔre θugoč bane ekenon ɔre ideu / ma ɛziɛn ɔre čo yose ɔre**
the traps for trap the ideu, when time the one take the

**θugoč / hale buič me yose lo ɔre θugoč #**
traps, then they then take there the traps;

**ka ɔre či kɔdaruon onɔre ideu / melei si**
and the one eats the ideu it is the inhabitants

**ruemeič #**
Ruemeic;

**buič ma či hueti kadio i tawainɛd ɔre ideu wa'i /**
they when take with there to Tawainedr the ideu fish,

**buič či tuθane but ko adio i guadureŋu #**
they gut then indeed there at Guadurehmu;

**ma pina ti lu adio ri danin kore wa'i / ka o**
when arrived with there in Danin the fish and where

**kore θan #**
the guts?

ka ke buič ko hadu ko eŋiǰ ha ŋa tuθan #
and they then: there still, we have gutted;

ko ke buič ko čo huɛti but te kore θan #
and they then: go bring with them the intestines;

buič ma či hue yawe čo ɛkɛnon ɔre ideu / ile buič me
they when go again to catch the ideu, then they

θalo # hale buič me tini lo ɔre wa'i #
arrive; then they string up the fish;

ɛǰe ha čo lɛŋe ti yawe ɔre wa'i #
we go go with again the fish;

roidi ɛǰe ha deko čo tuθan kore wa'i #
however we not go gut the fish;

buič ma puča lo i guadureŋu / ma etoečɛčɛne lo ɔre
they when go there to Guadurehmu, when place on pole the

wa'i / hale buič me huɛti #
fish, then they take with;

ma pina i kurin / melei ha θa θuni čo θudul kore
when arrive at Kurin there one cannot go bear the

wa'i #
fish;

hale buič me nue but yawe ri čɛle / ne či kalon ɔre
then they leave then again in sea and swim with the

wa'i ǰewo danin #
fish towards Danin;

buič ma hue ča pina lu i leon / melei ha ŋa kuri
they when go to arrive there at Leon, there was dragged

ŋei kɛnu kore wa'i #
by boat the fish;

ha θa θuni ko čo kuri kei ŋɔm # ha kɔdɛč kore wa'i #
is not able to drag a man; is swollen the fish;

hale buič me pina lu i danin #
then they arrive there at Danin;

hale buič me nunuone but du si ruemeič ɔre
then they give there to inhabitants Ruemeic the

wa'i # ha kɔdɛč #
fish; is swollen;

ka buič ko ŋe kɔm ɔre wa'i ma ha kɔdɛč #
and they say: how the fish when is swollen;

ka kei si θunu či čɛdi ka onire alayeni
and the inhabitants Thunu reply: and there is the desire
buŋiǰ ko / čo huɛti but te kore θan #
of you thus: go bring with then the intestines;

hale ɓuič ma ha tuθane but ɔre wa'i / kɛdi me kukuru
then they when have gutted then the fish, then spring out
but kore bɛče ne une ne nodei ia me nia
then the snakes and snakes and all animals and bad and
kukuru but ri θan nore wa'i #
spring out then in intestines of fish;

kei si θunu ko buŋiǰ či alan te čo ule ɔre
the inhabitants Thunu say: you wish with to see the
θan #
intestines;

ɔnɔmɛlei onire gureθan nore ideu #
there then the intestines of the ideu;

kei si ruemeič či čɛdi ko eŋiǰ či elon ko
the inhabitants Ruemeic reply thus: we curse then:
deko yawe čo aŋa kore wa'i ɔmelei #
not again go appear the fish there;

ẉan ɔmelei ča pina ɔnɔm deko yawe ŋa aŋa kore
from then to arrive now not again has appeared the
ideu #
ideu.

***TRANSLATION***

I shall tell the story of the fish called the ideu. Once upon a time down at Guadurehmu, the people who set traps to catch the ideu go down to lift these traps when it is time. The people who eat the ideu are the clan of Ruemeic. When the former people took the ideu with them to Tawainedr, they gutted them down there at Guadurehmu. When they arrived with them at Danin, they were asked: "Where are the intestines?" And they replied: "Back down there. We have gutted them." They were told: "You must bring them with the intestines." The next time they went to catch the

ideu, they came back and strung up the fish. "We must not gut the fish." When they got to Guadurehmu, when they had slung them on poles they set out. By the time they had come to Kurin, they could no longer bear the fish. So they put them back into the sea and swam along with them towards Danin. When they had gone as far as Leon, then the fish were dragged by boat. They could not be dragged by a man, as the fish were bloated. Finally they arrived at Danin. Then they presented the fish to the clan Ruemeic. They were bloated. They said: "What are these bloated fish?" And the clan of Thunu replied: "This is your wish, to have them brought with the intestines." When they had gutted the fish all kinds of sea-snakes and animal life, nasty creatures, poured forth from the bowels of the fish. The clan of Thunu said: "You wish to see them complete with intestines." The clan Ruemeic replied: "We curse them. Never again will this fish appear." From that day to this, the ideu has never re-appeared.